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CÆSAR
DE BELLO CIVILI.

BOOK I.

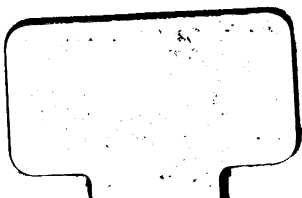
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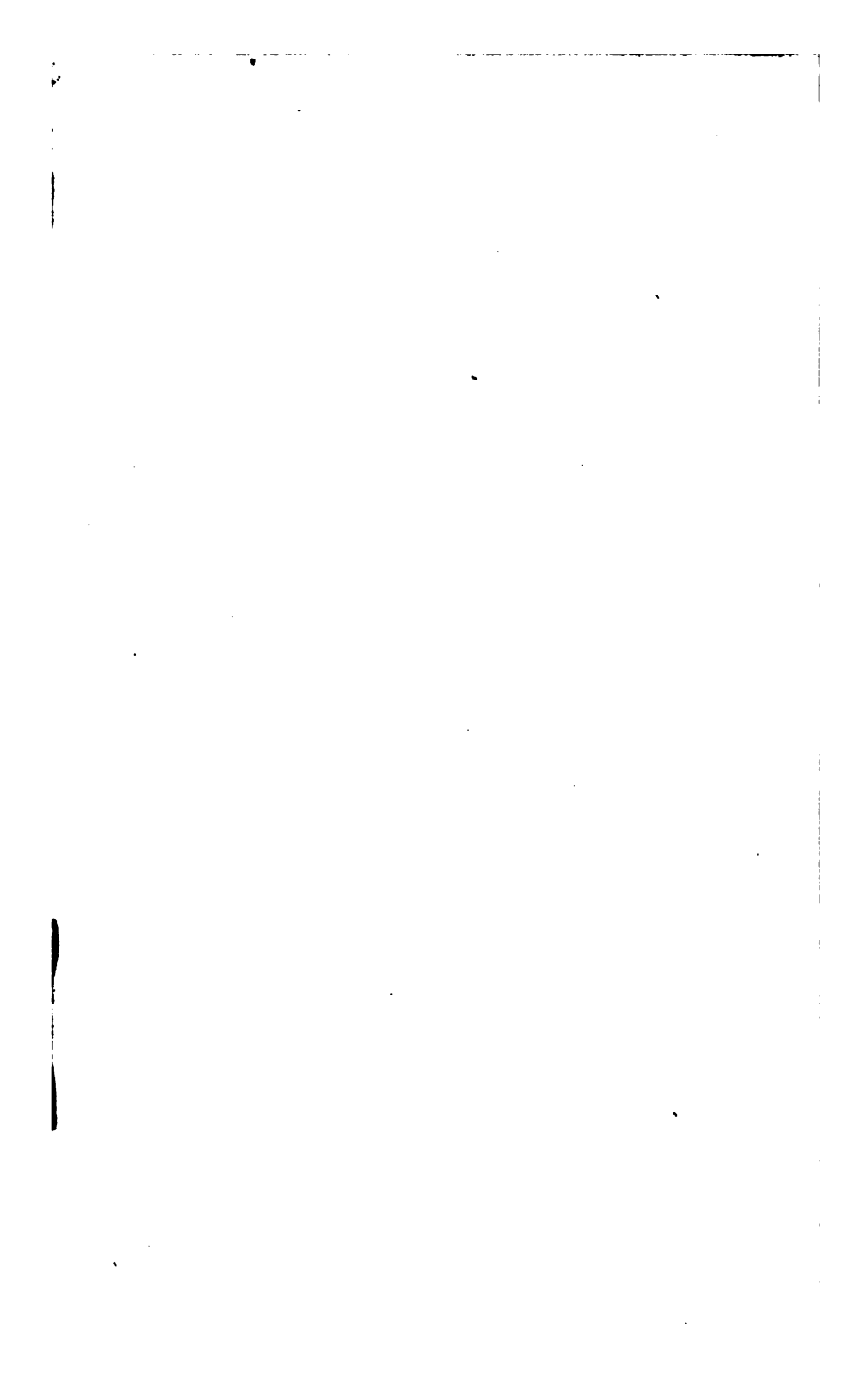
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CAII JULII CÆSARIS

COMMENTARIORUM

DE

BELLO CIVILI

LIBER I.

WITH ENGLISH NOTES.

LONDON:

WALTON AND MABERLY,

28, UPPER GOWER STREET, AND 27, IVY LANE, PATERNOSTER ROW

1859.

294. 9. 31.

LONDON
BRADBURY AND EVANS, PRINTERS, WHITEFRIARS.



ADVERTISEMENT.

THE text of this edition, which has been carefully collated, is based on that of Nipperdey. The Notes are chiefly explanatory, but information has occasionally been supplied, of an historical and geographical character, which appeared out of the compass of ordinary school manuals. A short introduction has been appended, which will, it is hoped, be found to set the leading features of the causes of the Civil War clearly before the student.

September, 1859.

INTRODUCTION.

In the year 52 B.C., two men, both of eminent abilities, distinguished merit, and great ambition, divided into two clearly distinct parties the political world of the Roman Empire. It is hardly necessary to say that these two were Cneius Pompeius and Caius Julius Cæsar. There existed, however, one important difference in their position, that, while the star of the one had culminated, that of the other was on the ascendant.

After a long and fortunate career, Pompey had attained to that pinnacle of political power towards which all his efforts had been systematically directed. He had acquired in the Servile, the Piratic, and the Mithridatic Wars, a great, if not an unquestioned, military reputation. He had constituted himself the representative of the people, the protector of their rights and liberties, and popular support had made him a leader in the state. He had subsequently coalesced with the aristocracy, had pandered to their selfishness and profited by their fears,

and the aristocracy confirmed the influence which the people had bestowed. He had finally, by availing himself of the turbulence of two lawless demagogues, brought about his election as sole consul, and obtained a supremacy in Rome unknown since the days of Sulla. It was not surprising, that, when he had thus won the highest honours and an unequalled position, he should transfer his sympathies to the conservative party at Rome; his policy now, was to preserve what he had acquired; from contention and revolution he had little to hope and everything to dread.

Very different was the position of Pompey's rival. During the last six years, the career of Cæsar had been marked by a series of rapid conquests, before which even the splendour of Pompey's triumphs began to pale. Three hundred nations had submitted to the arms of Rome; vast and fertile territories had been made tributary to the wants of her people; and a stream of wealth had flowed unremittingly into her treasury. Such services were alone sufficient to secure the favour of his countrymen, but Cæsar had recourse to yet more efficient means for promoting his political interests. The wealth he acquired in Gaul was spent in strengthening his cause, and increasing the number of his partisans at Rome. L. Emilius Paulus, the consul, M. Cœlius, the ædile, C. Scribonius Curio, the tribune, and a host of less distinguished individuals, were thus brought over to his

side. So great indeed was his influence, that we find that no less than two hundred senators flocked to pay him court, when he held the conference with Pompey and Crassus at Lucca. Notwithstanding all this, his position was still one of considerable difficulty and danger. The rapid growth of his power and reputation had excited the covert enmity of Pompey, and there had long existed at Rome a large party, among whom was the vindictive Cato, who longed for his humiliation and defeat. It was not, however, in Cæsar's nature to retreat before difficulties, however great; and undismayed by the dangers around him, he was only watching keenly and calmly the opportunity for striking a decisive blow.

Such was the relative position of the two great leaders in the Roman state, in the year B. c. 52; and all thoughtful and sagacious men foresaw that it must before long result in open rupture. Events had, indeed, seemed to tend to such a sequel. The death of Crassus had put an end to the political union of these two, as members of the Triumvirate; the death of Julia had broken the tie of family relationship.

It was not without reason that Pompey and the aristocratic party looked with alarm upon Cæsar's steady advance. There could be but little doubt that, whether by a violent displacement of his rival, or by effecting his gradual withdrawal from public life, Cæsar aimed at

supreme command. This many of the moderate party saw, who cared but little for Pompey, but subsequently sided with him as their only hope against the revival of a military dictatorship. This the aristocracy saw, to whom the rise of Cæsar to power betokened nothing save revolution and the humiliation of their order.

In the year B.C. 55, the tribune Trebonius had carried, in spite of the aristocracy, a bill which prolonged Cæsar's command in Gaul for five years. Three years later, Pompey, as sole consul, obtained for himself the prolongation of his government in Spain for a like period ; and being still desirous of avoiding an open disagreement with his rival, he allowed a law to be passed by which Cæsar was permitted to stand for the consulship without personally appearing at Rome. It was only when Trebonius had obtained this extension of Cæsar's command, and Pompey had permitted the cession of the above privilege, that the party hostile to Cæsar awoke to a consciousness of the importance of the opportunity thus presented to him. It was evident that he was bent on obtaining the consulship before the expiration of his command, and all the efforts of Pompey and the senate were henceforth directed to preventing his investiture with such great political power while at the head of so formidable an army. Accordingly, in the year B.C. 51, commenced a series of attempts on the part of the senate to crush their opponent, which resulted in Cæsar's open

rupture with Pompey and the government at Rome, and in the Civil War.

The first attempt was made in the above year by the consul, M. Claudius Marcellus, who proposed a measure by which Cæsar was to be superseded in his command by the appointment of a successor, and was to be compelled to appear in person at Rome, should he stand for the consulship. The extreme severity of this measure proved fatal to it. Even Pompey felt unable to give it countenance, and it failed accordingly.

Another endeavour was made in the following year, when the consul, C. Claudius Marcellus, proposed that Cæsar should lay down his command on the 13th of November, that being upwards of a year before the expiration of the term to which it had been extended. This would have necessitated Cæsar's appearing at Rome, in a private capacity, to sue for the consulship, and, in the state of feeling that then existed, it is no exaggeration to say that his life would have been imperilled by such a step. His enemies were numerous and unscrupulous, and Cato had loudly announced his intention of bringing him to trial for his irregular proceedings in his former consulship; Cæsar naturally felt, therefore, that he was only safe while at the head of his army. The measure proposed by Marcellus was negatived by Curio, the tribune.

In order to diminish as much as possible the forces at

Cæsar's command, it was pretended by the senate that soldiers were required for service against the Parthians, and Pompey and Cæsar were ordered to furnish a legion apiece. Pompey had lent Cæsar a legion in 53, and now demanded it back; so that both legions were really subtracted from the forces under Cæsar's command. Even this significant step failed to produce an immediate rupture. Cæsar surrendered the two legions, which, instead of being sent to the East, were quartered for the winter at Capua.

In the spring of the year 50 B.C., Cæsar had paid a short visit to Cisalpine Gaul, and his reception was everywhere accompanied by marks of popular favour. He had then returned to Transalpine Gaul, and stationed his legions in winter quarters; four he placed under Trebonius among the Belgæ; four, under Fabius among the Ædui; these being the two nations from whom he had most to fear an insurrection. He then returned to Cisalpine Gaul, and took up his quarters at Ravenna, with the thirteenth legion. This town was the nearest fortified town to the Roman territory; his plans were probably, by this time, tolerably defined, and he only awaited the arrival of Curio from Rome before deciding upon his precise line of conduct. Curio arrived, and from him Cæsar learnt more fully the actual state of affairs; and, perceiving that a crisis was imminent, he resolved to take the initiative. He accordingly

despatched Curio to Rome, with a letter for the senate, in which he expressed himself willing to lay down his command, if Pompey would do the same, and his determination not to resign it unless this were done. It is with the arrival of Curio, as the bearer of Cæsar's ultimatum to the senate, that this book somewhat abruptly opens. It was on the first of January, 49 B.C., that Curio arrived, having made the journey, a distance of a hundred and sixty miles, in three days. The year had set in stormily for Rome; and Cicero, returning from his province of Cilicia and speculating on the probabilities of a triumph, found his countrymen arming for a civil war.

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C. JULII CÆSARIS

COMMENTARIORUM

DE

BELLO CIVILI

LIBER PRIMUS.

LITTERIS a Cæsare consulibus redditis,¹ ægre ab his impe- 1
tratum est summa tribunorum plebis contentione, ut in
senatu recitarentur; ut vero ex litteris ad senatum refer-
retur, impetrari non potuit.² Referunt consules de republica
[in civitate]. L. Lentulus³ consul senatui rei que publicæ se
non defuturum pollicetur, si audacter ac fortiter sententias
dicere velint; sin Cæsarem respiciant, atque ejus gratiam
sequantur, ut superioribus fecerint temporibus, se sibi con-
siliium capturum neque senatus auctoritati obtemperaturum :
habere se quoque ad Cæsaris gratiam atque amicitiam re-

¹ This abrupt commencement has induced some commentators to believe that the book is partly lost. Vossius says, "I cannot be persuaded that Cæsar commenced so abruptly; and history itself shows that many circumstances should have been previously mentioned."

² *Litteris . . . non potuit* : "Cæsar's letter having been delivered to the consuls, the tribunes with the greatest difficulty prevailed upon them to read it in the senate, but were quite unable to obtain a discussion upon it." This letter is spoken of by Cicero as "*minaces et acerbas litteras*" (Ad Diversos, xvi. 2); while Cæsar refers to it himself, a little further on, as conveying "*lenissima postulata*."

³ L. *Lentulus*, surnamed *Crus*. He had only just entered upon his consulship, in conjunction with C. Marcellus; he was, through life, an inveterate enemy of Cæsar, and accompanied Pompey to Greece. After the battle of Pharsalia, he fled to Egypt, where he was put to death by Ptolemy's ministers.

ceptum. In eandem sententiam loquitur Scipio : ⁴ Pompeio esse in animo ⁵ rei publicæ non deesse, si senatus sequatur ; sin cunctetur atque agat lenius, nequicquam ejus auxilium, si postea velit, senatum imploraturum.

2 Hæc Scipionis oratio, quod senatus in urbe habebatur, Pompeiusque aderat, ⁶ ex ipsius ore Pompeii mitti videbatur. Dixerat aliquis leniorem sententiam, ut primo M. Marcellus, ingressus in eam orationem, non oportere ante de ea re ad senatum referri, quam delectus tota Italia habiti, et exercitus conscripti essent, quo præsidio tuto et libere senatus, quæ vellet, decernere auderet ; ut M. Calidius, qui censebat, ut Pompeius in suas provincias proficisceretur, ne qua esset armorum causa : timere Cæsarem abreptis ab eo duabus legionibus, ne ad ejus periculum reservare et retinere eas ad urbem Pompeius videretur ; ⁷ ut M. Rufus, qui sententiam Calidii, paucis fere mutatis rebus, sequebatur. Hi omnes convicio L. Lentuli consulis correpti ⁸ exagitabantur. Lentulus sententiam Calidii pronuntiaturum ⁹ se omnino negavit. Marcellus perterritus conviciis a sua sententia discessit. Sic vobis consulis, terrore præsentis exercitus, minis amicorum Pompeii plerique compulsi, inviti et coacti, Scipionis sententiam sequuntur : Uti ante certam diem Cæsar exercitum dimittat ; si non faciat, eum adversus rem publicam facturum videri. Intercedit ¹ M. Antonius, Q. Cassius, tribuni plebis. Refertur confestim de intercessione tribunorum. Dicuntur

⁴ *Scipio*. This was Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius Scipio, who bore the same family relationship to Pompey as did Cæsar, namely, that of father-in-law. He commanded the centre of Pompey's army at Pharsalia, was defeated by Cæsar at the battle of Thapsus, and, subsequently attempting to flee to Spain, his squadron was overpowered by that of Sittius, and he slew himself. In his public life he showed but little ability, and was distinguished by his rancorous and vindictive character as a party man.

⁵ *Pompeio esse in animo* : "that it was Pompey's intention."

⁶ *Pompeiusque aderat* : "and Pompey was close at hand." As proconsul for Spain, Pompey was invested with military command, and, consequently, unable to enter the city. He remained, however, in the suburbs, prompting and directing his party within the walls.

⁷ *Timere Cæsarem . . . Pompeius videretur* : "and that Cæsar was afraid lest Pompey should seem to reserve the legions, and retain them near the city, with the view of employing them in a manner inimical to himself."

⁸ *Correpti convicio* : "being reproached with upbraiding."

⁹ *Pronuntiaturum* : "that he would put to the vote."

¹ *Intercedit* : "negated." This, of course, prevented the passing of Scipio's motion. Observe the peculiar uses of the words, *refero*, *pronuntio*, *intercedo*.

sententiæ graves : ut quisque acerbissime crudelissimeque dixit, ita quam maxime ab inimicis Cæsaris conlaudatur. Misso ad vesperum senatu,² omnes, qui sunt ejus ordinis, a Pompeio evocantur. Laudat Pompeius atque in posterum confirmat ; segniores castigat atque incitat. Multi undique ex veteribus Pompeii exercitibus spe præmiorum atque ordinum evocantur ; multi ex duabus³ legionibus, quæ sunt traditæ a Cæsare, arcessuntur. Completur urbs et ejus comitium⁴ tribunis, centurionibus, evocatis. Omnes amici consulum, necessarii Pompeii atque eorum, qui veteres inimicitias cum Cæsare gerebant, in senatum coguntur ; quorum vocibus et concursu terrentur infirmiores, dubii confirmantur, plerisque vero libere decernendi potestas eripitur. Pollicetur⁵ L. Piso⁶ censor sese iturum ad Cæsarem, item L. Roscius prætor, qui de his rebus eum doceant : sex dies ad eam rem conficiendam spatii postulant. Dicuntur etiam a nonnullis sententiæ, ut legati ad Cæsarem mittantur, qui voluntatem senatus ei proponant. Omnibus his resistitur,⁷ omnibusque⁴ oratio consulis, Scipionis, Catonis opponitur. Catonem veteres inimicitie Cæsaris incitant, et dolor repulsæ.⁸ Lentulus æris alieni magnitudine, et spe exercitus ac provinciarum, et regum appellandorum largitionibus⁹ movetur, seque alterum fore Sullam¹ inter suos gloriatur, ad quem summa imperii

² *Misso senatus* : "the senate having risen."

³ *Multi ex duabus . . . arcessuntur* : "many from the two legions surrendered by Cæsar are summoned to his presence." Probably the officers only, whom Pompey desired to influence in his favour by bribes and promises.

⁴ *Completur urbs et ejus comitium* : "the city and the comitium are thronged." The former by the officers and "evocati," the latter by the citizens whom the tribunes had summoned to concert on measures for maintaining the popular cause.

⁵ *Pollicetur* : "proposes."

⁶ *L. Piso*. Cæsar's father-in-law. He was notorious for his shameless misrule when pro-consul in Macedonia (B.C. 57), which exposed him to the indignant oratory of Cicero. During the war he remained neutral, though he left Rome in Pompey's train.

⁷ *Omnibus his resistitur* : "to all these proposals opposition is made."

⁸ *Dolor repulsæ* : "chagrin at his defeat." Cato had stood for the prætorship in 55, and owed his defeat quite as much to Pompey as Cæsar ; for the latter, however, he had conceived a special enmity, which he cherished to the close of his life.

⁹ *Regum appellandorum largitionibus* : "by the bribes of kings supplicating him."

¹ *Alterum Sullam*. This was in allusion to the prophecy of the Sibyl, that three of the Cornelii should hold supreme authority in Rome ; an *ignis fatuus* of a prophecy that led several of the Cornelian gens into trouble.

redeat.² Scipionem eadem spes provinciæ atque exercituum impellit, quos se pro necessitudine³ partitum cum Pompeio arbitratur, simul judiciorum metus,⁴ adulatio atque ostentatio sui et potentium, qui in re publica iudiciisque tum plurimum pollebant. Ipse Pompeius ab inimicis Cæsaris incitatus, et quod neminem secum dignitate exæquari volebat, totum se ab ejus amicitia averterat, et cum communibus inimicis in gratiam redierat, quorum ipse maximam partem illo adfinitatis tempore injunxerat Cæsari;⁵ simul infamia duarum legionum permotus,⁶ quas ab itinere Asiæ Syriæque ad suam potentiam dominatumque converterat, rem ad arma deduci
 5 studebat. His de causis aguntur omnia raptim atque turbate. Nec docendi Cæsaris propinquis ejus spatium datur, nec tribunis plebis sui periculi deprecandi, neque etiam extremi juris intercessionem retinendi, quod L. Sulla reliquerat, facultas tribuitur;⁷ sed de sua salute septimo die cogitare coguntur, quod illi turbulentissimi superioribus temporibus tribuni plebis octavo denique mense suarum actionum respicere ac timere consuerant. Decurritur ad illud extremum atque ultimum senatusconsultum, quo, nisi pæne in ipso urbis in-

² *Ad quem summa imperii redeat*: "in whom the supreme command should again be restored."

³ *Pro necessitudine*: "on account of his relationship."

⁴ *Judiciorum metus*: "his dread of prosecutions." Appian says, that Scipio was awaiting his trial for using illegal means at elections, a crime against which the *leges* Calpurnia, Tullia, Julia, Licinia, and others, were framed, with severe penalties.

⁵ *Quorum . . . Cæsari*: "the greater number of whom he had himself, during the period of their intimacy, entailed upon Cæsar."

⁶ *Infamia duarum legionum permotus*. An expression which requires a paraphrase to render it accurately; it means, "being greatly excited by a consciousness of the disgrace attaching itself to the affair of the two legions."

⁷ *Nec tribunis . . . tribuitur*: "nor is there any opportunity afforded the tribunes of averting their danger, nor of preserving, by their interposition, that remnant of legal right which Sulla had left them." *Extremi juris* is equivalent to *residuum juris*; *extremum* being, here, the superlative of *succession* not of *degree*. Sulla had greatly abridged the power of the tribunes; he enacted that whoever had been a tribune should be incapable of succeeding to any other magistracy; that there should be no appeal to the tribunes; that they should not be allowed to hold comitia or propose laws; but he left them this right of putting a veto on the measures proposed in the senate, to which allusion is made in the phrase "*extremi juris*." All their powers had, however, been restored to them in the consulship of Pompey and Crassus. Cæsar intends to imply here, what he subsequently plainly states (cap. vii), that at this juncture affairs were so managed that the tribunes retained even less authority than under the dictatorship of Sulla.

cendio atque in desperatione omnium salutis, latorum audacia nunquam ante descensum est :⁸ Dent operam consules, prætores, tribuni plebis, quique consulares sunt ad urbem, ne quid res publica detrimenti capiat. Hæc senatusconsulta perscribuntur ante diem septimum Idus Januarias. Itaque quinque primis diebus, quibus haberi senatus potuit, qua ex die consulatum iniit Lentulus, biduo excepto comitali,⁹ et de imperio Cæsaris et de amplissimis viris, tribunis plebis, gravissime acerbissimeque decernitur. Profugiunt statim¹ ex urbe tribuni plebis, seseque ad Cæsarem conferunt. Is eo tempore erat Ravennæ, exspectabatque suis lenissimis postulatis responsa, si qua hominum æquitate res ad otium² deduci posset.

Proximis diebus habetur senatus extra urbem. Pompeius⁶ eadem illa, quæ per Scipionem ostenderat, agit; senatus virtutem constantiamque conlaudat; copias suas exponit: legiones habere sese paratas decem; præterea cognitum compertumque sibi, alieno esse animo in Cæsarem milites,³ neque iis posse persuaderi, uti eum defendant aut sequantur. Saltem de reliquis rebus ad senatum refertur: tota Italia delectus habeantur; Faustus Sulla⁴ proprætor in Mauritaniam mittatur; pecunia uti ex ærario⁵ Pompeio detur. Refertur etiam de rege Juba,⁶ ut socius sit atque amicus: Marcellus vero passurum se in præsentia negat. De Fausto impedit Philippus, tribunus plebis. De reliquis rebus senatusconsulta perscribuntur.⁷ Provinciæ privatis decernuntur, duæ consulares, reliquæ prætoris. Scipioni obvenit Syria, L. Domitio

⁸ *Nunquam ante descensum est*: "had never before been resorted to."

⁹ *Biduo excepto comitali*: "save on the two days when the comitia were held." The senate could not legally sit during such days.

¹ *Profugiunt statim*. Appian says they were ordered to leave the senate; but Cicero, writing to Tiro, states, that they withdrew of their own accord after the passing of the decree.

² *Ad otium*: "to a peaceful solution."

³ *Alieno . . . milites*: "that the soldiers under Cæsar were disaffected towards him."

⁴ *Faustus Sulla*. A son of the dictator. He married one of Pompey's daughters, and, in the war, followed the fortunes of his father-in-law. He was taken prisoner in Mauritania, by Cæsar, and, by his order, put to death.

⁵ *Ex ærario*: "from the public treasury."

⁶ *Juba*. King of Numidia; protected and favoured by Pompey, to whom he owed his restoration to the throne.

⁷ *Perscribuntur*: "are registered." Those of the senators most interested in the carrying of a measure generally stayed to see it duly inscribed, after which the writings, or tableta, were deposited in the treasury.

Gallia: Philippus et Marcellus privato consilio prætereuntur, neque eorum sortes dejiciuntur in reliquas provincias.⁹ Prætores mittuntur, neque exspectant, quod superioribus anni acciderat, ut de eorum imperio ad populum feratur, paludatique, votis nuncupatis, exeunt,¹ [quod ante id tempus acciderat nunquam]. Consules ex urbe proficiscuntur, lictoresque habent in urbe et Capitolio privati,² contra omnia vetustatis exempla. Tota Italia delectus habentur, arma imperantur pecuniæ a municipiis exiguntur, e fanis tolluntur, omnia
 7 divina humanaque jura permiscuntur. Quibus rebus cognitis, Cæsar apud milites concionatur. Omnium temporum injuria inimicorum in se commemorat:⁴ a quibus deductum ac depravatam Pompeium queritur invidia atque obtreptione laudis suæ, cujus ipse honori et dignitati semper faverit, adiutorque fuerit. Novum in re publica introductum exemplum queritur, ut tribunicia intercessio armis notaretur, atque opprimeretur,⁵ quæ superioribus annis armis esset restituta. Sullam, nudata omnibus rebus tribunicia potestate, tamen intercessionem liberam reliquisse; Pompeium, qui amissa restituisse videatur, dona etiam, quæ ante habuerit, ademisse. Quotiescunque sit decretum, Darent operam magistratus, ne quid res publica detrimenti caperet, qua voce et quo senatus

⁸ *Privato consilio prætereuntur*: "are passed over by a party move."

⁹ *Neque . . . provincias*: "nor are their names thrown into the urn for the other provinces." That is, the senate, by omitting to place their names in the urn, rendered it impossible that they should be elected.

¹ *Prætores . . . exeunt*: "The prætors are sent forth to their provinces, nor do they wait, as was the practice in former years, to have their election recognised by the people; and, having performed their vows, they go forth in military attire." It was the function of the senate to determine the provinces of the consuls and the prætors; but, as regarded the latter, the tribunes had the power of negating their appointment, though not that of the consuls. During the Jugurthine war they actually did this, for the senate had elected Metellus, whom they set aside for Marius. The text here is very corrupt; but I have adopted the reading of the best authorities. It is singular, however, that Cæsar should have mentioned the fact, that the tribunes went forth "paludati," which was merely their invariable custom. The words "quod ante id tempus acciderat nunquam," are probably a gloss.

² *Lictoresque . . . privati*: "and persons unelected to any office are preceded by lictors in the city and the Capitol."

³ *Quibus rebus cognitis*: "as soon as he had become informed of their proceedings."

⁴ *Omnium . . . commemorat*: "he recalls to their recollection the injuries done him on different occasions by his enemies."

⁵ *Armis notaretur, atque opprimeretur*: "should be branded and suppressed by a display of armed force."

consulto populus Romanus ad arma sit vocatus, factum in perniciosis legibus, in vi tribunicia, in secessione populi, templis locisque editioribus occupatis;⁶ atque hæc superioris ætatis exempla expiata Saturnini atque Gracchorum casibus docet;⁷ quarum rerum illo tempore nihil factum, ne cogitatum quidem; nulla lex promulgata, non cum populo agi cœptum, nulla secessio facta. Hortatur, cujus imperatoris ductu novem annis rem publicam felicissime gesserint, plurimaque prælia secunda fecerint, omnem Galliam Germaniamque pacaverint, ut ejus existimationem dignitatemque ab inimicis defendant. Conclamant legionis tertiæ decimæ, quæ aderat, milites, (hanc enim initio tumultus⁸ evocaverat; reliquæ nondum venerant), sese paratos esse imperatoris sui tribunorumque plebis injurias defendere.

Cognita militum voluntate, Ariminum⁹ cum ea legione proficiscitur, ibique tribunos¹ plebis, qui ad eum confugerant, convenit; reliquas legiones ex hibernis evocat, et subsequi jubet. Eo L. Cæsar adulescens² venit, cujus pater Cæsaris erat legatus. Is, reliquo sermone confecto, cujus rei causa venerat, habere se a Pompeio ad eum privati officii mandata demonstrat: Velle Pompeium se Cæsari purgatum, ne ea, quæ rei publicæ causa egerit,³ in suam contumeliam vertat; semper se rei publicæ commoda privatis necessitatibus habuisse potiora: Cæsarem quoque pro sua

⁶ *Factum . . . occupatis*: "the decree had been directed against dangerous legislation, violence on the part of the tribunes, or a general secession of the people, when they had seized upon the temples and more commanding sites."

⁷ *Atque hæc . . . docet*: "and these examples of former times, he shows them, were expiated by the ends of Saturninus and the Gracchi." *Casus* is here used euphemistically for death.

⁸ *Initio tumultus*: "at the outbreak of this intestine struggle."

⁹ *Ariminum*. This march, which was by the sea coast, involved of course the passing of the Rubicon. We gather nothing from Cæsar's narrative at all confirmatory of the tale told by Suetonius, of his hesitating and sentimentalising on the banks of the river, conduct totally at variance with all that we know of his decided and energetic character.

¹ *Tribunos*. Antonius and Cassius, only. Suetonius says that Cæsar brought them forth before the soldiers, in the servile attire in which they had made their escape, in order to excite the indignation of the army.

² *Cæsar adulescens*. Though his father was Cæsar's lieutenant, this young man was in Pompey's service, and subsequently served as proquæstor to Cato at Utica. He had but poor success as a negotiator, and, if we are to believe Cicero, who saw him at Minturnæ on his return from Pompey, and who calls him a 'bundle of confusion' (*scopee solutæ*) his abilities were below mediocrity.

³ *Egerit*: i.e., Pompeius.

dignitate debere et studium et iracundiam suam rei publicæ dimittere, neque adeo graviter irasci inimicis, ne, cum illis nocere se speret, rei publicæ noceat. Pauca ejusdem generis addit cum excusatione Pompeii conjuncta. Eadem fere atque
 9 peiium commemorasse demonstrat. Quæ res etsi nihil ad levandas injurias pertinere⁴ videbantur, tamen idoneos nactus homines,⁵ per quos ea, quæ vellet, ad eum perferrentur, petit ab utroque, quoniam Pompeii mandata ad se detulerint, ne graventur sua quoque ad eum postulata deferre, si parvo labore magnas controversias tollere atque omnem Italiam metu liberare possint: Sibi semper rei publicæ primam fuisse dignitatem, vitæque potioem: doluisse se, quod populi Romani beneficium sibi per contumeliam ab inimicis extorqueretur, ereptoque semestri imperio, in urbem retraheretur, cujus absentis rationem haberi proximis comitiis populus jussisset.⁶ Tamen hanc jacturam honoris sui rei publicæ causa æquo animo tulisse: cum litteras ad senatum miserit, ut omnes ab exercitibus discederent, ne id quidem impetravisse. Tota Italia delectus haberi; retineri legiones duas, quæ ab se simulatione Parthici belli sint abductæ; civitatem esse in armis. Quoniam hæc omnia, nisi ad suam perniciem, pertinere? Sed tamen ad omnia se descendere paratum, atque omnia pati rei publicæ causa. Proficiscatur Pompeius in suas provincias; ipsi exercitus dimittant; discedant in Italia omnes ab armis: metus e civitate tollatur; libera comitia atque omnis res publica senatui populoque Romano permittatur.⁷ Hæc quo facilius certisque conditionibus fiant, et jurejurando sanciantur, aut ipse propius accedat, aut se patiatur accedere:⁸ fore, uti per colloquia omnes controversiæ componantur.

10 Acceptis mandatis, Roscius cum L. Cæsare Capuam⁹ pervenit, ibique consules Pompeiumque invenit: postulata

⁴ *Pertinere*: "to tend."

⁵ *Idoneos nactus homines*: "having met with suitable persons."

⁶ *Cujus . . . jussisset*: "whose request, the people, in their latest comitia, had given orders should be regarded."

⁷ *Atque . . . permittatur*: "and let the whole state be confided entirely to the senate and the people."

⁸ *Aut ipse . . . accedere*: "let Pompey either himself come nearer or permit Cæsar to approach him."

⁹ *Capuam*. Pompey fled to Capua, with the consuls, at the first news of Cæsar's approach; the disaffection among Cæsar's troops upon which he had calculated, and the troops which he had imagined would flock to his own standard, proved alike visionary.

Cæsaris renuntiat. Illi deliberata re respondent, scriptaque ad eum mandata per eos remittunt, quorum hæc erat summa:¹ Cæsar in Galliam reverteretur, Arimino excederet, exercitus dimitteret; quæ si fecisset, Pompeium in Hispanias iturum. Interea, quoad fides esset data² Cæsarem facturum, quæ polliceretur, non intermissuros consules Pompeiumque delectus.

Erat iniqua conditio³ postulare, ut Cæsar Arimino excederet, atque in provinciam reverteretur, ipsum et provincias et legiones alienas tenere: exercitum Cæsaris velle dimitti, delectus habere: polliceri se in provinciam iturum, neque, ante quem diem iturus sit, definire, ut, si peracto consulatu Cæsaris Pompeius profectus non esset, nulla tamen mendacii religione obstrictus videretur. Tempus vero colloquio non dare, neque accessurum polliceri, magnam pacis desperationem adferebat. Itaque ab Arimino M. Antonium cum cohortibus quinque Arretium mittit; ipse Arimini cum duabus legionibus subsistit, ibique delectum habere instituit; Pisaurum, Fanum, Anconam⁴ singulis cohortibus occupat. Interea⁵ certior factus Iguvium Thermum prætorem cohortibus quinque tenere, oppidum munire, omniumque esse Iguvinorum optimam erga se voluntatem, Curionem cum tribus cohortibus, quas Pisauri et Arimini habebat, mittit. Cujus adventu cognito, diffusus municipii voluntate⁶ Thermus cohortes ex urbe educit, et profugit. Milites in itinere ab eo discedunt, ac domum revertuntur. Curio summa omnium voluntate Iguvium⁷ recipit. Quibus rebus cognitis, confisus municipiorum voluntatibus, Cæsar cohortes legionis tertiæ decimæ ex præsidiis deducit, Auximumque proficiscitur; quod oppidum Attius cohortibus introductis tenebat, delectumque toto Piceno, circummissis senatoribus, habebat. Adventu Cæsaris cognito, decuriones,⁷ Auximi ad Attium¹³ Varum frequentes conveniunt: docent sui iudicii rem non

¹ *Quorum hæc erat summa*: "to this effect."

² *Quoad fides esset data*: "until security were given."

³ *Iniqua conditio*: "a very unfair proposal." Cicero gives a very different version of the proposals on both sides, and it is impossible now to decide upon the exact truth. This much, however, is tolerably clear, that each commander wanted the other to surrender the advantages of his position and trust a little too much to the good faith of his rival.

⁴ *Pisaurum, Fanum, Anconam*. All seaport towns, tending to give Cæsar the command of the Adriatic seaboard.

⁵ *Diffusus municipii voluntate*: "being distrustful of the feeling of the town."

⁶ *Iguvium*. Now Gubbio, a town of Umbria, on the *Via Flaminia*.

⁷ *Decuriones*: "the municipal authorities."

esse;⁸ neque se neque reliquos municipales pati posse C. Cæsarem, imperatorem bene de re publica meritum, tantis rebus gestis, oppido mœnibusque prohiberi: proinde habeat rationem posteritatis et periculi sui.⁹ Quorum oratione permotus, Varus præsidium, quod introduxerat, ex oppido educit, ac profugit. Hunc ex primo ordine pauci Cæsaris consecuti milites consistere cogunt: commisso prælio deseritur a suis Varus; nonnulla pars militum domum discedit; reliqui ad Cæsarem perveniunt; atque una cum iis deprehensus L. Pupius, primi pili centurio,¹ adducitur, qui hunc eundem ordinem in exercitu Cn. Pompeii antea duxerat. At Cæsar milites Attianos conlaudat, Pupium dimittit, Auximatis agit gratias, seque eorum facti memorem fore pollicetur.

- 14 Quibus rebus Romam nuntiatis, tantus repente terror invasit, ut, cum Lentulus consul ad aperiendum ærarium venisset ad pecuniam Pompeio ex senatusconsulto proferendam, protinus, aperto sanctiore ærario,² ex urbe profugeret. Cæsar enim adventare, jam jamque et adesse ejus equites falso nuntiabantur. Hunc Marcellus collega et plerique magistratus consecuti sunt. Cn. Pompeius, pridie ejus diei ex urbe profectus, iter ad legiones habebat, quas a Cæsare acceptas in Apulia hibernorum causa disposuerat. Delectus intra urbem intermittuntur: nihil citra Capuam tutum esse omnibus videtur. Capuæ primum sese confirmant et colligunt,³ delectumque colonorum, qui lege Julia Capuam

⁸ *Sui . . . esse*: "that it was not a matter for them to decide on;" that is, the subject of dispute between Pompey and Cæsar.

⁹ *Proinde . . . sui*: "they accordingly (advise, *docent*) that he should look to his reputation and personal safety."

¹ *Primi pili centurio*: that is, the centurion of the first century of the first maniple of the *Triarii*, and consequently the chief centurion of the legion.

² *Protinus, aperto sanctiore ærario*: "at the very moment that he had opened the door of the special treasury." The public treasury contained a fund, created after the invasion of Gaul, partly from the plunder of Carthage and Greece, partly from the accumulation of the manumission payment due on the liberation of slaves, which fund was only touched on occasions of the utmost need and was hence called '*sanctior*'.

³ *Sese confirmant et colligunt*: "do they take heart and rally." The district of Campania had been given to Cicero to command and levy recruits in. He soon relinquished his post, however, and retired from Capua where his head-quarters were fixed. To the more advanced student the VIIth, VIIIth, and IXth Books of the '*Letters to Atticus*,' will form an admirable commentary on some parts of this book. Cicero's perplexity and alarm at Cæsar's swift approach are excessive. He lavishes unlimited abuse upon the object of his fears. "O hominem amentem et miserum, qui ne umbram quidem τοῦ καλοῦ viderit! Atque hæc ait omnia facere se dignitatis causa. Ubi est autem dignitas, nisi ubi honestas?"

deducti erant, habere instituunt; gladiatoresque, quos ibi Cæsar in ludo habebat, ad forum productos Lentulus libertati confirmat, atque iis equos adtribuit, et se sequi jussit; quos postea, monitus ab suis, quod ea res omnium judicio reprehendebatur, circum familiares conventus Campaniæ custodiæ causa distribuit.

Auximo Cæsar progressus omnem agrum Picenum⁴ per- 15
currit. Cunctæ earum regionum præfecturæ libentissimis animis eum recipiunt, exercitumque ejus omnibus rebus juvant. Etiam Cingulo,⁵ quod oppidum Labienus constituerat, suaque pecunia exædificaverat, ad eum legati veniunt, quæque imperaverit, se cupidissime facturos pollicentur. Milites imperat: mittunt. Interea legio duodecima Cæsarem consequitur. Cum his duabus⁶ Asculum Picenum proficiscitur. Id oppidum Lentulus Spinther decem cohortibus tenebat; qui, Cæsaris adventu cognito, profugit ex oppido, cohortesque secum abducere conatus a magna parte militum deseruit. Relictus in itinere cum paucis incidit in Vibullium Rufum, missum a Pompeio in agrum Picenum confirmandorum hominum causa. A quo factus Vibullius certior, quæ res in Piceno gererentur, milites ab eo accipit, ipsum dimittit.⁷ Item ex finitimis regionibus, quas potest, contrahit cohortes ex delectibus Pompeianis; in his Camerino fugientem Ulcilem Hirrum cum sex cohortibus, quas ibi in præsidio habuerat, excipit; quibus coactis tredecim efficit. Cum his ad Domitium Ahenobarbum Corfinium magnis itineribus pervenit, Cæsaremque adesse cum legionibus duabus nuntiat. Domitius per se circiter viginti cohortes Alba, ex Marsis et Pelignis,

⁴ *Picenum*. Cæsar had overrun this territory before the 8th of February, for Cicero, writing to Atticus, says, "At illud (Picenum) totum erat amissum; . . . mihi dubium non erat, quin ille (Cæsar) jam jamque foret in Apulia; Cnæus noster in navi." (Ad Att. 7, 21.)

⁵ *Etiam Cingulo*: "even at Cingulum." Labienus had served under Cæsar, as one of his generals, in the Gallic war, and had acquired considerable reputation by his exploits. At the outbreak of these hostilities he deserted to Pompey, and hence, the ready surrender of Cingulum, a place of his own creation, was all the more significant. "Labienum *ἡρῶα* iudicio," wrote Cicero, when he heard that he had joined Pompey.

" . . . Fortis in armis
Cæsareis Labienus erat; nunc transfuga villis,"

wrote Lucan, when the deification of the Cæsars was all the vogue.

⁶ *Cum his duabus*: that is, the 12th and 18th before mentioned.

⁷ *Ipsam dimittit*: "and deposes him from his command;" not "dismisses him," for we find (cap. xxii.) that Lentulus must have accompanied Vibullius to Corfinium.

- 16 et finitimis ab regionibus coëgerat. Recepto Asculo expulsoque Lentulo, Cæsar conquiri milites, qui ab eo discesserant, delectumque institui jubet; ipse unum diem ibi rei frumentariæ causa moratus Corfinium contendit. Eo cum venisset, cohortes quinque, præmissæ a Domitio ex oppido, pontem fluminis interrompebant,⁸ qui erat ab oppido millia passuum circiter tria. Ibi cum antecursoribus Cæsaris prælio commisso celeriter, Domitiani a ponte repulsi se in oppidum receperunt. Cæsar, legionibus traductis, ad oppidum constitit, juxtaque murum castra posuit.
- 17 Re cognita, Domitius ad Pompeium in Apuliam peritos regionum, magno proposito præmio,⁹ cum litteris mittit, qui petant atque orent, ut sibi subveniat: Cæsarem duobus exercitibus et locorum angustiis facile intercludi posse, frumentoque prohiberi. Quod nisi fecerit, se cohortesque amplius triginta magnumque numerum senatorem atque equitum Romanorum in periculum esse venturum. Interim suos cohortatus tormenta in muris disponit, certasque cuique partes ad custodiam urbis attribuit; militibus in concione agros ex suis possessionibus pollicetur, quaterna in singulos jugera, et pro rata parte centurionibus evocatisque.¹
- 18 Interim Cæsari nuntiatur Sulmonenses, quod oppidum a Corfinio septem millium intervallo abest, cupere ea facere, quæ vellet, sed a Q. Lucretio senatore et Attio Peligno² prohiberi, qui id oppidum septem cohortium præsidio tenebant. Mittit eo M. Antonium cum legionis tertiæ decimæ cohortibus quinque. Sulmonenses, simul atque nostra signa viderunt, portas aperuerunt, universique, et oppidani et milites, obviam gratulantes Antonio exierunt. Lucretius et Attius de muro se dejecerunt.³ Attius ad Antonium deductus petit, ut ad Cæsarem mitteretur. Antonius cum cohortibus et Attio eodem die, quo profectus erat, revertitur. Cæsar eas cohortes cum exercitu suo conjunxit, Attiumque incolumem dimisit. Cæsar tribus primis diebus castra magnis

⁸ *Pontem fluminis interrompebant*: "were breaking down a bridge across the river." A very ordinary expedient for interrupting the progress of an enemy.

⁹ *Magno proposito præmio*: "having offered them a large reward."

¹ *Et . . . evocatisque*: "and likewise in proportion to the centurions and volunteer veterans." *Evocati*: soldiers who had completed their term of military service, were sometimes again called upon to join the army in cases of extreme necessity, and were then distinguished by this name.

² *Attio Peligno*: "by Attius, a Pelignian."

³ *Se dejecerunt*: "leaped down."

operibus munire, et ex finitimis municipiis frumentum comportare, reliquasque copias expectare instituit. Eo triduo legio octava ad eum venit, cohortesque ex novis Galliæ delectibus viginti duæ, equitesque ab rege Norico circiter trecenti: quorum adventu altera castra ad alteram oppidi partem ponit. His castris Curionem præfecit: reliquis diebus oppidum vallo castellisque circumvenire instituit. Cujus operis maxima parte effecta, eodem fere tempore missi a Pompeio revertuntur.

Litteris perlectis, Domitius dissimulans in concilio pronun- 19
tiat Pompeium celeriter subsidio venturum, hortaturque eos, ne animo deficiant, quæque usui ad defendendum oppidum sint, parent. Ipse arcano cum paucis familiaribus suis colloquitur, consiliumque fugæ capere constituit. Cum vultus Domitii cum oratione non consentiret, atque omnia trepidantius timidiusque ageret quam superioribus diebus consuesset, multumque cum suis consiliandi causa secreto præter consuetudinem colloqueretur,⁴ concilia conventusque hominum fugeret, res diutius tegi dissimularique non potuit. Pompeius enim reſcripserat: Sese rem in summum periculum deducturum non esse,⁵ neque suo consilio aut voluntate Domitium se in oppidum Corfinium contulisse: proinde, si qua facultas fuisset, ad se cum omnibus copiis veniret. Id ne fieri posset, obsidione atque oppidi circummunitione fiebat.⁶ Divulgato Domitii consilio, milites, qui erant Corfinii, prima 20
vesperi secessionem faciunt, atque ita inter se per tribunos militum centurionesque atque honestissimos sui generis⁷ conloquuntur: Obsideri se a Cæsare; opera munitionesque prope esse perfectas; ducem suum Domitium, cujus spe atque fiducia permanserint, projectis omnibus,⁸ fugæ consilium capere: debere se suæ salutis rationem habere. Ab his primo Marsi⁹ dissentire incipiunt, eamque oppidi partem,

⁴ *Multumque . . . colloqueretur*: "and when he began to converse much with his friends, contrary to his usual custom, in private, for the sake of concerting plans."

⁵ *Sese . . . non esse*: "That he was not going to imperil to the utmost the whole matter at stake."

⁶ *Id ne fieri . . . fiebat*: "a step which was rendered utterly impracticable by the blockade and investment of the town."

⁷ *Honestissimos sui generis*: "the most honourable members of their body."

⁸ *Projectis omnibus*: "taking no heed for the rest."

⁹ *Marsi*. On this occasion, as on many others, these brave soldiers proved themselves Italia's most valiant sons.

quæ munitissima videretur, occupant ; tantaque inter eos dissensio existit, ut manum conserere atque armis dimicare conentur ; post paulo tamen, internuntiis ultro citroque missis, quæ ignorabant de L. Domitii fuga,¹ cognoscunt. Itaque omnes uno consilio Domitium productum in publicum circumsistunt et custodiunt, legatosque ex suo numero ad Cæsarem mittunt : Sese paratos esse portas aperire, quæque imperaverit, facere, et L. Domitium vivum in ejus potestatem tradere.

- 21 Quibus rebus cognitis, Cæsar, etsi magni interesse arbitrabatur quam primum oppido potiri, cohortesque ad se in castra traducere, ne qua aut largitionibus aut animi confirmatione aut falsis nuntiis commutatio fieret voluntatis, quod sæpe in bello parvis momentis magni casus intercederent, tamen veritus, ne militum introitu et nocturni temporis licentia oppidum diriperetur, eos, qui venerant, collaudat, atque in oppidum dimittit ; portas murosque adservari jubet. Ipse iis operibus, quæ facere instituerat, milites disponit, non certis spatiis intermissis, ut erat superiorum dierum consuetudo, sed perpetuis vigiliis stationibusque, ut contingant inter se atque omnem munitionem expleant ; tribunos militum et præfectos circummittit, atque hortatur, non solum ab eruptionibus caveant, sed etiam singulorum hominum occultos exitus adservent.² Neque vero tam remisso ac languido animo quisquam omnium fuit, qui ea nocte conquieverit.³ Tanta erat summa rerum expectatio, ut alius in aliam partem mente atque animo traheretur,⁴ quid ipsis Corfiniensibus, quid Domitio, quid Lentulo, quid reliquis accideret, qui quosque eventus exciperent.
- 22 Quarta circiter vigilia Lentulus Spinther de muro cum vigiliis custodibusque nostris colloquitur : Velle, si sibi fiat potestas, Cæsarem convenire. Facta potestate, ex oppido mittitur, neque ab eo prius Domitiani milites discedunt, quam in conspectum Cæsaris deducatur. Cum eo de salute sua orat atque obsecrat, sibi ut parcat, veteremque amicitiam commemorat, Cæsarisque in se beneficium exponit, quæ erant maxima : quod per eum in collegium

¹ *De fuga* : " concerning the intended flight."

² *Sed . . . adservent* : " but also that they should watch (to prevent) the departure of single individuals unobserved."

³ *Qui ea nocte conquieverit* : " that he could sleep that night."

⁴ *Ut alius . . . traheretur* : " that each found himself occupied in thought and feeling by the interests of others." Note the use of *mens* and *animus*, as distinct in meaning.

pontificum venerat; quod provinciam Hispaniam ex prætura habuerat; quod in petitione consulatus ab eo erat sublevatus. Cujus orationem Cæsar interpellat: Se non maleficii causa ex provincia egressum, sed uti se a contumeliis inimicorum defenderet; ut tribunos plebis, ea re ex civitate expulsos, in suam dignitatem restitueret; ut se et populum Romanum, paucorum factione oppressum, in libertatem vindicaret. Cujus oratione confirmatus Lentulus, ut in oppidum reverti liceat, petit: quod de sua salute impetraverit, fore etiam reliquis ad suam spem solatio; adeo esse perterritos nonnullos, ut suæ vitæ durius consulere cogantur.⁵ Facta potestate, discedit. Cæsar, ubi luxit, omnes senatores senatorum-
23
que liberos, tribunos militum equitesque Romanos ad se produci jubet. Erant senatorii ordinis L. Domitius, P. Lentulus Spinther, L. Vibullius Rufus, Sex. Quintilius Varus quæstor, L. Rubrius; præterea filius Domitii, alique complures adulescentes, et magnus numerus equitum Romanorum et decurionum, quos ex municipiis Domitius evocaverat. Hos omnes productos a contumeliis militum conviciisque prohibet; pauca apud eos loquitur, quod sibi a parte eorum gratia relata non sit pro suis in eos maximis beneficiis;⁶ dimittit omnes incolumes. Sestertium sexagies,⁷ quod advexerat Domitius atque in publicum deposuerat, adlatum ad se ab duumviris Corfiniensibus Domitio reddit, ne continentior in vita hominum, quam in pecunia, fuisse videatur, etsi eam pecuniam publicam esse constabat, datamque a Pompeio in stipendium. Milites Domitianos sacramentum apud se dicere jubet, atque eo die castra movet, justumque iter conficit,⁸ septem omnino dies ad Corfinium commoratus, et per fines Marrucinatorum, Frentanorum, Larinatum in Apuliam pervenit.

Pompeius, iis rebus cognitis, quæ erant ad Corfinium gestæ,
24
Luceria proficiscitur Canusium, atque inde Brundisium. Copias undique omnes ex novis delectibus ad se cogi jubet; servos, pastores armat, atque his equos adtribuit: ex iis circiter trecentos equites conficit. L. Manlius prætor Alba

⁵ *Ut suæ vitæ durius consulere cogantur*: "that they might be impelled to make attempts upon their own lives."

⁶ *Quod sibi . . . beneficiis*: "that so little gratitude had been shown by some of them for his great kindnesses towards them (on former occasions)."

⁷ *Sestertium sexagies*: "six millions of sesterces." Something over 53,000*l.*; a large sum, but one which Cæsar, who had the treasury at Rome in view, could well afford to dispense with.

⁸ *Justumque iter conficit*: "and makes an ordinary day's march."

cum cohortibus sex profugit; Rutilius Lupus prætor Tarracina cum tribus, quæ procul equitatum Cæsaris conspicatæ, cui præerat Vibius Curius, relicto prætore, signa ad Curium transferunt atque ad eum transeunt. Item reliquis itineribus nonnullæ cohortes in agmen Cæsaris, aliæ in equites incidunt. Reducitur ad eum deprehensus ex itinere Cn. Magius Cremona, præfectus fabrum⁹ Cn. Pompeii. Quem Cæsar ad eum remittit cum mandatis: Quoniam ad id tempus facultas colloquendi non fuerit, atque ad se Brundisium sit venturus, interesse rei publicæ et communis salutis, se cum Pompeio colloqui: neque vero idem profici longo itineris spatio, cum per alios conditiones ferantur, ac si coram de omnibus conditionibus disceptetur.¹ His datis mandatis, Brundisium cum legionibus sex pervenit, veteranis tribus, reliquis, quas ex novo delectu confecerat atque in itinere compleverat: Domitianas enim cohortes protinus a Corfinio in Siciliam miserat. Reperit consules Dyrrhachium profectos cum magna parte exercitus, Pompeium remanere Brundisii cum cohortibus viginti. Neque certum inveniri poterat, obtinendine Brundisii causa ibi remansisset, quo facilius omne Hadriaticum mare extremis Italiæ partibus regionibusque Græciæ in potestatem haberet, atque ex utraque parte bellum administrare posset, an inopia navium ibi restitisset; veritusque, ne Italiam ille dimittendam non existimaret,² exitus administrationesque³ Brundisini portus, impedire instituit: quorum operum hæc erat ratio. Qua fauces erant angustissimæ portus, moles atque aggerem ab utraque parte litoris jaciebat, quod his locis erat vadosum mare. Longius progressus, cum agger altiore aqua contineri non posset,⁴ rates duplices quoquoersus pedum triginta⁵ e regione molis collocabat. Has quaternis ancoris ex quattuor angulis destinabat, ne fluctibus moverentur. His perfectis collocatisque, alias deinceps pari magnitudine rates

⁹ *Præfectus fabrum*: "overseer of the workmen belonging to the army." That is, the engineers, sappers, &c.

¹ *Neque vero . . . disceptetur*: "nor would they be able to make the same progress, by a long way, when the propositions were conveyed by others, as when all things were debated in a personal interview."

² *Ne Italiam . . . existimaret*: "lest he should entertain the project of not quitting Italy."

³ *Administrationes*: "the channels for obtaining the supplies."

⁴ *Cum agger . . . posset*: "since the pile could not be supported in the deeper water."

⁵ *Quoquoersus pedum triginta*: "measuring thirty feet in every direction."

jungebat. Has terra atque aggere integebat, ne aditus atque incursus ad defendendum impediretur; a fronte atque ab utroque latere cratibus ac pluteis⁶ protegebat; in quarta quaque earum turres binorum tabulatorum⁷ excitabat, quo commodius ab impetu navium incendiisque defenderet. Contra hæc Pompeius naves magnas onerarias,⁸ quas in portu Brundisino deprehenderat, adornabat. Ibi turres cum ternis tabulatis⁹ erigebat, easque multis tormentis et omni genere telorum completas ad opera Cæsaris appellebat, ut rates perrumperet, atque opera disturbaret. Sic quotidie utrimque eminus fundis, sagittis, reliquisque telis pugnabatur. Atque hæc ita Cæsar administrabat, ut condiciones pacis dimittendas non existimaret; ac tametsi magnopere admirabatur Magium, quem ad Pompeium cum mandatis miserat, ad se non remitti,¹ atque ea res sæpe tentata etsi impetus ejus consiliaque tardabat,² tamen omnibus rebus in eo perseverandum putabat. Itaque Caninium Rebilum legatum, familiarem necessariumque Scribonii Libonis,³ mittit ad eum colloqui causa; mandat, ut Libonem de concilianda pace hortetur; in primis, ut ipse cum Pompeio colloqueretur, postulat: magnopere sese confidere demonstrat, si ejus rei sit potestas facta, fore, ut æquis conditionibus ab armis discedatur; cujus rei magnam partem laudis atque existimationis ad Libonem perventuram, si illo auctore atque agente ab armis sit discessum. Libo a collo-

⁶ *Cratibus ac pluteis*: "with fascines and parapets."

⁷ *Binorum tabulatorum*: "two stories high." Somewhat similar to Cæsar's plan was that adopted by Alexander at the siege of Tyre (see Q. Curtius, iv. 2), which Cardinal Richelieu, long after, successfully imitated at the siege of Rochelle. To Alexander, however, belongs the merit of originality.

⁸ *Naves onerarias*: "transport vessels."

⁹ *Ternis tabulatis*: "with three stories." So that they commanded Cæsar's erections.

¹ *Magium . . . ad se non remitti*. Some commentators make severe reflections upon Cæsar's want of veracity in this matter. There is still extant a letter, written by Cæsar to Oppius, in which he speaks of the return of Magius with proposals from Pompey. Asinius Pollio is known to have accused Cæsar of great want of fidelity in his account of the Civil War, and either there is a wilful suppression of facts in this passage, or, as is very probable, some lines of the text are wanting.

² *Atque ea res . . . tardabat*: "and although his frequent attempts to obtain that result (i.e., an understanding with Pompey) was retarding his movements and plans."

³ *Scribonius Libo*. One of Pompey's intimate friends. During the Civil War, he commanded the Liburnian and Achaian fleets, in conjunction with Marcus Octavius.

quo Caninii digressus ad Pompeium proficiscitur. Paulo post renuntiat, quod consules absint, sine illis de compositione agi non posse. Ita sæpius rem frustra tentatam Cæsar aliquando dimittendam sibi iudicat, et de bello agendum.

- 27 Prope dimidia parte operis a Cæsare effecta, diebusque in ea re consumptis novem, naves a consulibus Dyrrhachio⁴ remissæ, quæ priorem partem exercitus eo deportaverant, Brundisium revertuntur. Pompeius, sive operibus Cæsaris permotus, sive etiam quod ab initio Italia excedere constituerat, adventu navium profectionem parare incipit; et, quo facilius impetum Cæsaris tardaret, ne sub ipsa profectione milites oppidum inrumperent, portas obstruit, vicos plateasque⁵ inædificat, fossas transversas viis præducit, atque ibi sudes stipitesque præacutos defigit. Hæc levibus cratibus terraque inæquat; aditus autem atque itinera duo, quæ extra murum ad portum ferebant, maximis defixis trabibus, atque eis præacutis, præsepit. His paratis rebus, milites silentio naves conscendere jubet; expeditos autem ex evocatis sagittariis funditoribusque raros in muro turribusque disponit. Hos certo signo revocare constituit, cum omnes milites naves conscendissent, atque iis expedito loco actuaria navigia relinquit.⁶
- 28 Brundisini, Pompeianorum militum injuriis atque ipsius Pompeii contumeliis permoti, Cæsaris rebus favebant. Itaque, cognita Pompeii profectione, concursantibus illis atque in ea re occupatis, vulgo ex tectis significabant. Per quos re cognita, Cæsar scalas parari militesque armari jubet, ne quam rei gerendæ facultatem dimittat. Pompeius sub noctem naves solvit. Qui erant in muro custodiæ causa collocati, eo signo, quod convenerat, revocantur, notisque itineribus ad naves decurrunt. Milites, positis scalis, muros ascendunt, sed moniti a Brundisinis, ut vallum cæcum fossasque caveant, subsistunt, et, longo itinere ab his circumducti, ad portum perveniunt, duasque naves cum militibus, quæ ad moles Cæsaris adhæserant, scaphis lintribusque deprehendunt, deprehensas excipiunt.⁷

⁴ *Dyrrachium*. Formerly known as Epidamnus. From its position, directly opposite to Brundisium, this town was greatly frequented by the Romans. Butler calls it the Calais, and Brundisium the Dover, of antiquity.

⁵ *Vicos plateasque*: "the streets and thoroughfares."

⁶ *Atque iis . . . relinquit*: "and left some light boats in a convenient position for them."

⁷ Pompey is generally allowed to have brought off his forces from Brundisium in a very skilful manner; but whether his retreat to Greece was a

Cæsar, etsi ad spem conficiendi negotii maxime probabat, 2^o coactis navibus, mare transire et Pompeium sequi, priusquam ille sese transmarinis auxiliis confirmaret,⁸ tamen ejus rei moram temporisque longinquitatem timebat, quod, omnibus coactis navibus, Pompeius præsentem facultatem insequendi sui ademerat. Relinquebatur, ut ex longinquiorebus regionibus Galliæ Picenique et a freto⁹ naves essent expectandæ. Id propter anni tempus longum atque impeditum videbatur. Interea veterem exercitum, duas Hispanias confirmari, quarum altera erat maximis beneficiis Pompeio devincta, auxilia, equitatum parari, Galliam Italiamque tentari, se absente, nolebat. Itaque in præsentia Pompeii insequendi rationem 30 omittit; in Hispaniam proficisci constituit: duumviris municipiorum¹ omnium imperat, ut naves conquirant, Brundisiumque deducendas curent. Mittit in Sardiniam cum legione una Valerium legatum, in Siciliam Curionem prætorem cum legionibus quattuor; eundem, cum Siciliam recepisset, protinus in Africam traducere exercitum jubet. Sardiniam obtinebat M. Cotta, Siciliam M. Cato, Africam sorte Tubero obtinere debebat.² Caralitani,³ simul ad se Valerium mitti audierunt, nondum profecto ex Italia, sua sponte Cottam ex oppido ejiciunt. Ille perterritus, quod omnem provinciam consentire intellegeret, ex Sardinia in Africam profugit. Cato in Sicilia naves longas veteres re-

wise step is a disputed point. Most writers are of opinion that, instead of retiring from Rome, he should have advanced to meet Cæsar, before Corfinium fell; but that his next best course would have been to retreat to Spain, and place himself at the head of his army there.

⁸ *Priusquam . . . confirmaret*: "before he (Pompey) could collect his transmarine forces."

⁹ *A freto*: "from the straits;" i.e., the Sicilian Straits, which were, to a Roman, the straits *par excellence*.

¹ *Duumviris municipiorum*, etc. Cæsar's urgency in collecting a naval force, and in occupying Sicily and Sardinia, arose from a desire to frustrate what he knew would be Pompey's plan, namely, to cut off the supplies of corn from Italy. This terrible measure, though in perfect keeping with the heartlessness of the commanders of those days, elicited from Cicero a shudder of disapprobation at the war; "in quo tanta vis sceleris futura est, ut quum parentes non alere nefarium sit, nostri principes antiquissimam et sanctissimam parentem, patriam, fame necandam putent! Omnis hæc classis (referring to Pompey's fleet) ad intercludendos comæatus Italiæ et ad occupandas frumentarias provincias comparatur." (Ad Att. ix. 9.)

² *Africam . . . debebat*: "Tubero according to his lot should have obtained Africa" (but he did not, see cap. 31).

³ *Caralitani*. Caralis was the chief city of Sardinia, now Cagliari.

- ficiebat, novas civitatibus imperabat. Hæc magno studio agebat. In Lucanis Brutiisque per legatos suos civium Romanorum delectus habebat, equitum peditumque certum numerum a civitatibus Siciliæ exigebat. Quibus rebus pæne perfectis, adventu Curionis cognito, queritur in concione, Sese projectum ac proditum a Cn. Pompeio, qui, omnibus rebus imparatissimus, non necessarium bellum suscepisset, et, ab se reliquisque in senatu interrogatus, omnia sibi esse ad bellum apta ac parata confirmavisset. Hæc in concione
- 31 questus, ex provincia fugit. Nacti vacuas ab imperiis, Sardiniam Valerius, Curio Siciliam, cum exercitibus eo perveniunt. Tuberus,⁴ cum in Africam venisset, invenit in provincia cum imperio Attium Varum, qui ad Auximum, ut supra demonstravimus, amissis cohortibus, protinus ex fuga in Africam pervenerat, atque eam sua sponte vacuam occupaverat, delectuque habito, duas legiones effecerat, hominum et locorum notitia et usu ejus provinciæ nactus aditus ad ea conanda, quod paucis ante annis ex prætura eam provinciam obtinuerat. Hic venientem Uticam navibus Tuberone portu atque oppido prohibet, neque adfectum valetudine filium exponere in terram patitur, sed sublatis ancoris excedere eo loco cogit.
- 32 His rebus confectis, Cæsar, ut reliquum tempus a labore intermitteretur, milites in proxima municipia deducit; ipse ad urbem proficiscitur. Coacto senatu injurias inimicorum commemorat: docet, Se nullum extraordinarium honorem accepisse, sed, expectato legitimo tempore⁵ consulatus, eo fuisse contentum, quod omnibus civibus pateret: latum ab decem tribunis plebis, contradicentibus inimicis, Catone vero acerrime repugnante et pristina consuetudine dicendi mora dies extrahente,⁶ ut sui ratio absentis haberetur, ipso consule Pompeio; qui si improbasset, cur ferri passus esset? sin probasset, cur se uti populi beneficio prohibuisset? Pa-

⁴ *L. Tuberus*. A partisan of Pompey, whom he subsequently joined in Greece. After the defeat of his party, he was pardoned by Cæsar, and returned to Rome. It is amusing to note that his invalid son afterwards revenged himself upon Ligarius for his treatment on this occasion. Ligarius held the province of Africa, in conjunction with Attius Varus, and probably took part in preventing Tuberus's landing. Q. Tuberus afterwards made an accusation before Cæsar against Ligarius, whom Cicero defended in the oration still extant.

⁵ *Expectato legitimo tempore*: "having awaited the legal time;" i.e., the expiration of the ten years after the expiration of his first consulship.

⁶ *Dicendi mora dies extrahente*: "protracting days (of discussion) by spinning out his speeches."

tientiam proponit suam, cum de exercitibus dimittendis ultro postulavisset; in quo jacturam dignitatis atque honoris ipse facturus esset. Acerbitatem inimicorum docet, qui, quod ab altero postularent, in se recusarent, atque omnia permisceri mallent, quam imperium exercitusque dimittere. Injuriam in eripiendis legionibus prædicat, crudelitatem et insolentiam in circumscribendis tribunis plebis; conditiones a se latas, expetita colloquia et denegata commemorat. Pro quibus rebus orat ac postulat, rem publicam suscipiant atque una secum administrent. Sin timore defugiant, illis se oneri non futurum,⁷ et per se rem publicam administraturum. Legatos ad Pompeium de compositione mitti oportere: neque se reformidare, quod in senatu paulo ante Pompeius dixisset, ad quos legati mitterentur, his auctoritatem attribui, timoremque eorum, qui mitterent, significari. Tenuis atque infirmi hæc animi videri.⁸ Se vero, ut operibus anteire studuerit, sic justitia et æquitate velle superare. Probat rem senatus de mittendis legatis; sed, qui mitterentur, non reperiebantur, maximeque timoris causa pro se quisque id munus legationis recusabat. Pompeius enim discedens ab urbe in senatu dixerat, eodem se habiturum loco, qui Romæ remansissent, et qui in castris Cæsaris fuissent. Sic triduum disputationibus excusationibusque extrahitur. Subjicitur⁹ etiam L. Metellus, tribunus plebis, ab inimicis Cæsaris, qui hanc rem distrahat, reliquasque res, quascumque agere instituerit, impediat. Cujus cognito consilio, Cæsar, frustra diebus aliquot consumptis, ne reliquum tempus omittat, infectis iis, quæ agere destinaverat, ab urbe proficiscitur, atque in ulteriorem Galliam pervenit. Quo cum venisset, cognoscit missum in Hispaniam a Pompeio Vibullium Rufum, quem paucis ante diebus Corfinio captum ipse dimiserat; profectum item Domitium ad occupandum Massiliam navibus actuariis septem, quas Igili et in Cosano a privatis coactas servis, libertis, colonis suis compleverat; præmissos etiam legatos Massilienses domum, nobiles adulescentes,¹ quos ab urbe discedens Pompeius erat adhortatus, ne nova Cæsaris officia veterum suorum

⁷ *Illis se oneri non futurum*: "he would not impose the burden upon them."

⁸ *Tenuis . . . videri*: "that these were the sentiments of a mean and weak disposition."

⁹ *Subjicitur*: "is suborned."

¹ *Præmissos . . . adulescentes*: "that citizens of Marseilles, young men of noble birth, had been already sent in the capacity of ambassadors."

beneficiorum in eos memoriam expellerent. Quibus mandatis acceptis, Massilienses portas Cæsari clausurant; Albicos, barbaros homines, qui in eorum fide antiquitus erant,² montesque supra Massiliam incolebant, ad se vocaverant; frumentum ex finitimis regionibus atque ex omnibus castellis in urbem convexerant; armorum officinas in urbe instituerant; muros, classem, portas, reficiebant. Evocat ad se Cæsar Massiliensium quindecim primos.³ Cum his agit, ne initium inferendi belli ab Massiliensibus oriat: debere eos Italiæ totius auctoritatem sequi potius, quam unius hominis voluntati obtemperare. Reliqua, quæ ad eorum sanandas mentes pertinere arbitrabatur, commemorat. Cujus orationem legati domum referunt, atque ex auctoritate hæc Cæsari renuntiant: Intellegere se divisum esse populum Romanum in duas partes. Neque sui iudicii neque suarum esse virium discernere, utra pars justiore habeat causam. Principes vero esse earum partium Cn. Pompeium et C. Cæsarem, patronos civitatis; quorum alter agros Volcarum Arecomitorum et Helviorum publice iis concesserit, alter bello victas Gallias⁴ adtribuerit, vectigaliaque auxerit. Quare, paribus eorum beneficiis, parem se quoque voluntatem tribuere debere, et neutrum eorum contra alterum juvare aut urbe aut portibus recipere. Hæc dum inter eos aguntur, Domitius navibus Massiliam pervenit, atque ab iis receptus urbi præficitur: summa ei belli administrandi permittitur. Ejus imperio classem quoquoversus dimittunt; onerarias naves, quas ubique possunt, deprehendunt, atque in portum deducunt; parum clavis aut materia atque armamentis instructis ad reliquas armandas reficiendasque utuntur: frumenti quod inventum est, in publicum conferunt; reliquas merces commeatusque ad obsidionem urbis, si accidat, reservant. Quibus injuriis permotus, Cæsar legiones tres Massiliam adducit; turres vineasque ad oppugnationem urbis agere, naves longas Arelate numero duodecim facere instituit. Quibus effectis armatisque diebus triginta, a qua die materia

² *Qui in eorum fide antiquitus erant*: "who had been from of old on terms of allegiance to them."

³ *Quindecim primos*: "the fifteen councillors." According to Strabo, the executive government of Marseilles was confided by the senate to a council of fifteen, who are probably the fifteen here designated.

⁴ *Victas Gallias*. Some editions have "*Victos Salyas*;" but the powerful tribe of the Salyi had been subdued by the Romans long before the time of Cæsar, in B.C. 123.

cæsa est, adductisque Massiliam, his D. Brutum ⁵ præficit, C. Trebonium ⁶ legatum ad oppugnationem Massiliæ relinquit. Dum hæc parat atque administrat, C. Fabium legatum cum 37
 legionibus tribus, quas Narbone circumque ea loca hiemandi causa disposuerat, in Hispaniam præmittit; celeriterque saltus ⁷ Pyrenæos occupari jubet, qui eo tempore ab L. Afranio legato præsidiis tenebantur. Reliquas legiones, quæ longius hiemabant, subsequi jubet. Fabius, ut erat imperatum, adhibita celeritate, præsidium ex saltu dejecit, magnisque itineribus ad exercitum Afranii contendit.

Adventu L. Vibullii Rufi, quem a Pompeio missum in His- 38
 paniam demonstratum est, Afranius et Petreius et Varro, legati Pompeii, quorum unus tribus legionibus Hispaniam citeriorem, alter a saltu Castulonensi ad Anam duabus legionibus, tertius ab Ana Vettonum agrum Lusitaniamque pari numero legionum obtinebat, officia inter se partiuntur; uti Petreius ex Lusitania per Vettones cum omnibus copiis ad Afranium proficiscatur, Varro cum iis, quas habebat, legionibus omnem ulteriorem Hispaniam tueatur. His rebus constitutis, equites auxiliaque toti Lusitaniæ a Petreio, Celtiberiæ, Cantabris, barbarisque omnibus, qui ad Oceanum pertinent, ab Afranio imperantur. Quibus coactis, celeriter Petreius per Vettones ad Afranium pervenit. Constituunt communi consilio bellum ad Ilerdam propter ipsius loci opportunitatem gerere.⁸

Erant, ut supra demonstratum est, legiones Afranii tres, 39
 Petreii duæ, præterea scutatæ citerioris provinciæ, et cetratæ⁹

⁵ *D. Brutum*. Not, of course, *the* conspirator; though he joined his namesake in the conspiracy against Cæsar; after the murder of his patron he assumed the command in Cisalpine Gaul, but was ultimately made prisoner and put to death by Mark Antony.

⁶ *C. Trebonius*. Cæsar's lieutenant-general in his Gallic campaigns, and who, as tribune, carried the law by which the command in Gaul was prolonged to Cæsar for five years.

⁷ *Saltus*: "the mountain passes."

⁸ The student should consult the map in order to comprehend the bearing of the distribution of the forces. Petreius, the most experienced of the three generals, undertakes the task of raising and organising the levies in the south and south-west; Afranius holds the country upon which the brunt of Cæsar's invasion is to fall; Petreius, then, having completed the levies, hastens to join him; while Varro remains to guard the country less immediately threatened. The districts occupied by the three generals were the best river districts of Spain, being fertilised by the tributaries of the Tagus, the Anas, and the Iberus respectively. The central parts of Spain were then, as now, either barren, or very partially cultivated.

⁹ *Scutatæ, cetratæ*. Troops bearing the long and round shields respectively.

ulterioris Hispaniæ cohortes circiter octoginta, equitum utriusque provinciæ circiter quinque millia. Cæsar legiones in Hispaniam præmiserat, ad sex millia auxilia peditum, equitum tria millia, quæ omnibus superioribus bellis habuerat, et parem ex Gallia numerum, quem ipse paraverat, nominatim ex omnibus civitatibus nobilissimo et fortissimo quoque evocato.¹ Hinc optimi generis hominum ex Aquitanis montanisque, qui Galliam provinciam adtingunt. Audierat Pompeium per Mauritaniam cum legionibus iter in Hispaniam facere, confestimque esse venturum. Simul a tribunis militum centurionibusque mutuas pecunias² sumpsit; has exercitui distribuit. Quo facto duas res³ consecutus est, quod pignore animos centurionum devinxit, et largitione redemit militum voluntates.

- 40 Fabius finitimarum civitatum animos litteris nuntiisque tentabat. In Sicore flumine pontes effecerat duos, inter se distantes millia passuum quattuor. His pontibus pabulum⁴ mittebat, quod ea, quæ citra flumen fuerant, superioribus diebus consumpserat. Hoc idem fere atque eadem de causa Pompeiani exercitus duces faciebant, crebroque inter se equestribus præliis contendebant. Huc cum quotidiana consuetudine congressæ pabulatoribus præsidio proprio legiones Fabianæ duæ flumen transissent, impedimenta⁵ et omnis equitatus sequeretur,⁵ subito vi ventorum et aquæ magnitudine pons est interruptus, et reliqua multitudo equitum interclusa. Quo cognito a Petreio et Afranio ex aggere atque cratibus, quæ flumine ferebantur, celeriter suo ponte Afranius, quem oppido castrisque conjunctum habebat, legiones quattuor equitatumque omnem trajecit, duabusque Fabianis occurrit legionibus. Cujus adventu nuntiato, L. Plancus, qui legionibus præerat, necessaria re coactus, locum capit superiorem, diversamque aciem in duas partes constituit,⁶ ne ab equitatu circumveniri posset. Ita congressus impari numero magnos

¹ *Nominatim . . . evocato*: "Each warrior of distinguished reputation having been summoned by name from all the states."

² *Mutuas pecunias*: "loans of money."

³ *Duas res*: "two results."

⁴ *Pabulum*: "in quest of forage."

⁵ *Huc . . . sequeretur*: "two of Fabius's legions having attended thither, according to their daily practice, as an escort to the foragers, when they had crossed the river, and the baggage and all the cavalry were following."

⁶ *Diversamque aciem in duas partes constituit*: "and drew up his army so as to present a front in opposite directions."

impetus legionum equitatusque sustinet. Commisso ab equitibus prælio, signa duarum legionum procul ab utrisque conspiciuntur, quas C. Fabius ulteriore ponte subsidio nostris miserat, suspicatus fore id, quod accidit, ut duces adversariorum, occasione et beneficio fortunæ ad nostros opprimendos uterentur. Quarum adventu prælium dirimitur, ac suas 41 uterque legiones reducit in castra. Eo biduo Cæsar cum equitibus nongentis, quos sibi præsidio reliquerat, in castra pervenit. Pons, qui fuerat tempestate interruptus, pæne erat refectus: hunc noctu perfici jussit. Ipse, cognita locorum natura, ponti castrisque præsidio sex cohortis reliquit atque omnia impedimenta, et postero die omnibus copiis, triplici instructa acie, ad Ilerdam proficiscitur, et sub castris Afranii constitit, et ibi paulisper sub armis moratus facit æquo loco pugnandi potestatem.⁷ Potestate facta, Afranius copias educit, et in medio colle sub castris constituit. Cæsar ubi cognovit per Afranium stare, quo minus prælio dimicaretur, ab infimis radicibus montis intermissis circiter passibus quadringentis castra facere constituit; et, ne in opere faciundo milites repentino hostium incursu exterrerentur, atque opere prohiberentur, vallo muniri vetuit, quod eminere et procul videri necesse erat, sed a fronte contra hostem pedum quindecim fossam fieri jussit. Prima et secunda acies in armis, ut ab initio constituta erat, permanebat; post hos opus in occulto a tertia acie fiebat. Sic omne prius est perfectum, quam intellexeretur ab Afranio castra muniti. Sub vesperum 42 Cæsar intra hanc fossam legiones reducit, atque ibi sub armis proxima nocte conquiescit. Postero die omnem exercitum intra fossam continet, et, quod longius erat agger petendus,⁸ in præsentia similem rationem operis instituit, singulaque latera castrorum singulis attribuit legionibus munienda, fossasque ad eandem magnitudinem perfici jubet; reliquas legiones in armis expeditas contra hostem constituit. Afranius Petreiusque, terrendi causa atque operis impediendi, copias suas ad infimas montis radices producunt, et prælio lacessunt. Neque idcirco Cæsar opus intermittit, confisus præsidio legionum trium et munitione fossæ. Illi non diu commorati, nec

⁷ *Et ibi . . . potestatem*: "and remaining there a short time under arms afforded an opportunity for a combat on equal terms."

⁸ *Quod longius erat agger petendus*: "inasmuch as it was necessary to send an unusual distance for material." The *agger* was composed of anything that served to make a firm heap; such as stones, sand, brush-wood, earth, &c.

longius ab infimo colle progressi, copias in castra reducunt. Tercio die Cæsar vallo castra communit; reliquas cohortes, quas in superioribus castris reliquerat, impedimenta ad se traduci jubet.

- 43 Erat inter oppidum Ilerdam et proximum collem, ubi castra Petreius atque Afranius habebant, planities circiter passuum trecentorum, atque in hoc fere medio spatio tumultus erat paulo editior; quem si occupasset Cæsar et communisset, ab oppido et ponte et commeatu omni, quem in oppidum contulerant, se interclusurum adversarios confidebat. Hoc sperans legiones tres ex castris educit, acieque in locis idoneis instructa, unius legionis antesignanos procurrere, atque occupare eum tumulum jubet. Qua re cognita, celeriter, quæ in statione pro castris erant Afranii cohortes, breviori itinere ad eundem occupandum locum mittuntur. Contenditur prælio, et, quod prius in tumulum Afraniani venerant, nostri repelluntur, atque, aliis submissis subsidiis,⁹ terga vertere, seque ad signa legionum recipere coguntur.
- 44 Genus erat pugnae militum illorum, ut magno impetu primo procurrere, audacter locum caperent, ordines suos non magnopere servarent,¹ rari dispersique pugnarent; si premerentur, pedem referre et loco excedere non turpe existimarent, cum Lusitanis reliquisque barbaris genere quodam pugnae adsuefacti; quod fere fit, quibus quisque in locis miles inveteravit, uti multum earum regionum consuetudine moveatur.² Hæc tamen ratio nostros perturbavit insuetos hujus generis pugnae: circumiri enim sese ab aperto latere,³ procurrentibus singulis, arbitrabantur; ipsi autem suos ordines servare, neque ab signis discedere, neque sine gravi causa eum locum, quem ceperant, dimitti censuerant oportere. Itaque, perturbatis antesignanis, legio, quæ in eo cornu constiterat, locum non tenuit, atque in proximum collem sese
- 45 recepit. Cæsar, pæne omni acie perterrita, quod præter opinionem consuetudinemque acciderat, cohortatus suos legionem nonam subsidio ducit; hostem insolenter atque acriter nostros insequentem suppressit, rursusque terga vertere, seque

⁹ *Aliis submissis subsidiis*: "and other reinforcements arriving;" that is, from the hostile camp.

¹ *Ordines suos non magnopere servarent*: "that they preserved their rank very indifferently." "Non magnopere" is a litotes.

² *Uti . . . moveatur*: "that he is to a great extent imbued with the custom of those countries."

³ *Ab aperto latere*: "on their exposed flank."

ad oppidum Ilerdā recipere, et sub muro consistere cogit. Sed nonæ legionis milites elati studio, dum sarcire acceptum detrimentum volunt, temere insecuti fugientes, in locum iniquum progrediuntur, et sub montem, in quo erat oppidum positum Ilerda, succedunt. Hinc se recipere cum vellent, rursus illi ex loco superiore nostros premebant. Præruptus locus erat, utraque ex parte directus, ac tantum in latitudinem patebat, ut tres instructæ cohortes eum locum explerent,⁴ et neque subsidia a lateribus submitti, neque equites laborantibus usui esse possent. Ab oppido autem declivis locus tenui fastigio⁵ vergebat in longitudinem passuum circiter quadringentorum. Hac nostris erat receptus, quod eo incitati studio inconsultius processerant. Hoc pugnabatur loco, et propter angustias iniquo, et quod sub ipsis radicibus montis constiterant, ut nullum frustra telum in eos mitteretur. Tamen virtute et patientia nitebantur, atque omnia vulnera sustinebant. Augebatur illis copia,⁶ atque ex castris cohortes per oppidum crebro submittebantur, ut integri defessis succederent. Hoc idem Cæsar facere cogebatur, ut, submissis in eundem locum cohortibus, defessos reciperet. Hoc cum esset modo pugnatum continenter horis quinque, 46 nostrique gravius a multitudine premerentur, consumptis omnibus telis, gladiis dextris impetum adversus montem in cohortis faciunt, paucisque dejectis, reliquos sese convertere cogunt. Submotis⁷ sub murum cohortibus, ac nonnulla parte propter terrorem in oppidum compulsis, facilis est nostris receptus datus. Equitatus autem noster ab utroque latere, etsi dejectis atque inferioribus locis constiterat, tamen in summum jugum virtute connititur, atque inter duas acies perequitans commodiorem ac tutiorem nostris receptum dat. Ita vario certamine pugnatum est. Nostri in primo congressu circiter septuaginta ceciderunt; in his Q. Fulginius ex primo hastato legionis quartæ decimæ, qui propter eximiam virtutem ex inferioribus ordinibus in eum locum pervenerat; vulnerantur amplius sexcenti. Ex Afranianis interficiuntur T. Cæcilius, primi pili centurio, et præter eum centuriones quattuor, milites amplius ducenti. Sed hæc ejus diei præfertur opinio, ut se utrique superiores discessisse existimarent: 47

⁴ *Præruptus . . . explerent*: "the place was rocky, and steep on both sides, and so narrow that three cohorts in array would fill it."

⁵ *Tenui fastigio*: "by a gradual descent."

⁶ *Augebatur illis copia*: "the enemy's forces kept increasing."

⁷ *Submotis*: "being driven back."

Afraniiani, quod, cum esse omnium iudicio inferiores viderentur, comminus tam diu stetissent, et nostrorum impetum sustinuisent, et initio locum tumultumque tenuissent, quæ causa pugnandi fuerat, et nostros primo congressu terga vertere coëgissent; nostri autem, quod iniquo loco atque impari congressi numero quinque horis proelium sustinuisent, quod montem, gladiis dextris, ascendissent, quod ex loco superiore terga vertere adversarios coëgissent, atque in oppidum compulissent. Illi eum tumultum, pro quo pugnatum est, magnis operibus munierunt, præsidiumque ibi posuerunt.

- 48 Accidit etiam repentinum incommodum biduo, quo hæc gesta sunt. Tanta enim tempestas cooritur, ut nunquam illis locis majores aquas fuisse constaret. Tum autem ex omnibus montibus nives proluit, ac summas ripas fluminis superavit, pontisque ambo, quos C. Fabius fecerat, uno die interrupt. Quæ res magnas difficultates exercitui Cæsaris attulit. Castra enim, ut supra demonstratum est, cum essent inter flumina duo, Sicorim⁸ et Cingam, spatio millium triginta, neutrum horum transiri poterat, necessarioque omnes his angustiis continebantur. Neque civitates, quæ ad Cæsaris amicitiam accesserant, frumentum supportare, neque ii, qui pabulum longius progressi erant, interclusi fluminibus reverti, neque maximi commeatus,⁹ qui ex Italia Galliaque veniebant, in castra pervenire poterant. Tempus erat autem difficillimum, quo neque frumenta in hibernis erant, neque multum a maturitate aberant,¹ ac civitates exinanitæ, quod Afranius pæne omne frumentum ante Cæsaris adventum Ilerdam convexerat, reliqui si quid fuerat, Cæsar superioribus diebus consumpserat: pecora, quod secundum poterat esse inopiæ subsidium,² propter bellum finitimæ civitates longius removerant. Qui erant pabulandi aut frumentandi causa progressi, hos levis armaturæ Lusitani, peritique earum

⁸ *Sicorim*. Now the Segres. There is an odd tradition, that it was here that Herodias and her "capering" daughter met their end. They had come forth from the town to dance on the frozen river, but the ice broke and they fell in; the young lady's head became severed from her body, and continued dancing of itself.

⁹ *Maximi commeatus*: "the very large supplies." This is the preferable reading; some editions have *comitatus*.

¹ *Quo neque . . . aberant*: "when there was no corn left in the magazines, and it was only beginning to ripen (in the fields)."

² *Quod . . . subsidium*: "which might have been a resource in this scarcity."

regionum cetrati citerioris Hispaniæ consecrabantur; quibus erat proclive transire flumen, quod consuetudo eorum omnium est, ut sine utribus³ ad exercitum non eant. At exercitus Afranii omnium rerum abundabat copia. Multum erat frumentum provisum et convectum superioribus temporibus, multum ex omni provincia comportabatur; magna copia pabuli suppetebat. Harum omnium rerum facultates sine ullo periculo pons Ilerdæ præbebat, et loca trans flumen integra,⁴ quo omnino Cæsar adire non poterat. Hæ perman-
serunt aquæ dies complures. Conatus est Cæsar reficere
pontes: sed nec magnitudo fluminis mittebat, neque ad
ripam dispositæ cohortes adversariorum perfici patiebantur;
quod illis prohibere erat facile, tum ipsius fluminis natura
atque aquæ magnitudine, tum quod ex totis ripis in unum
atque angustum locum tela jaciebantur; atque erat difficile
eodem tempore rapidissimo flumine opera perficere, et tela
vitare.

Nuntiatur Afranio magnos commeatus, qui iter habebant ad Cæsarem, ad flumen constitisse. Venerant eo sagittarii ex Rutenis, equites ex Gallia cum multis carris magnisque impedimentis, ut fert Gallica consuetudo. Erant præterea cujusque generis hominum millia circiter sex cum servis liberisque; sed nullus ordo, nullum imperium certum, cum suo quisque consilio uteretur, atque omnes sine timore iter facerent, usi superiorum temporum atque itinerum licentia. Erant complures honesti adulescentes, senatorum filii et ordinis equestris; erant legationes civitatum; erant legati Cæsaris: hos omnes flumina continebant.⁵ Ad hos opprimendos cum omni equitatu tribusque legionibus Afranius de nocte proficiscitur, imprudentesque ante missis equitibus adgreditur. Celeriter tamen sese Galli equites expediunt, præliumque committunt. Hi, dum pari certamine res geri potuit, magnum hostium numerum pauci sustinuerunt; sed, ubi signa legionum appropinquare cœperunt, paucis amissis, sese in montes proximos conferunt. Hoc pugnae tempus

³ *Utribus*: "bladders." A very common auxiliary to native tribes in crossing rapid and dangerous rivers, like those of Spain. "The majority of Spanish rivers," says Ford, "are very scanty of water during the summer time, but very rapid in their flow when filled by rains or melting snow: during these periods they are impracticable for boats."—*Handbook*, vol. i. p. 94.

⁴ *Integra*: "as yet untouched by the foragers."

⁵ *Hos omnes flumina continebant*: "the river obstructed the progress of them all."

magnum attulit nostris ad salutem momentum : nacti enim spatium se in loca superiora receperunt. Desiderati sunt eo die sagittarii circiter ducenti, equites pauci, calonium atque impedimentorum non magnus numerus. His tamen omnibus
 52 annona crevit ; quæ fere res non solum inopia præsentis, sed etiam futuri temporis timore ingravescere consuevit.⁶ Jamque ad denarios quinquaginta in singulos modios annona pervenerat, et militum vires inopia frumenti deminuerat, atque incommoda in dies augebantur ; et tam paucis diebus magna erat rerum facta commutatio, ac se fortuna inclinaverat, ut nostri magna inopia necessariorum rerum conflictarentur, illi omnibus abundarent rebus, superioresque haberentur. Cæsar iis civitatibus, quæ ad ejus amicitiam accesserant, quo minor erat frumenti copia, pecus imperabat ; calones ad longinquiores civitates dimittebat ; ipse præsentem inopiam, quibus poterat subsidiiis,⁷ tutabatur.

Hæc Afranius Petreiusque et eorum amici pleniora etiam
 53 atque uberiora Romam ad suos perscribebant.⁸ Multa rumor fingebat, ut pæne bellum confectum videretur. Quibus litteris nuntiisque Romam perlatis, magni domum concursus ad Afranium, magnæ gratulationes fiebant ; multi ex Italia ad Cn. Pompeium proficiscebantur ; alii, ut principes talem nuntium attulisse, alii, ne eventum belli expectasse aut ex omnibus novissimi venisse viderentur.⁹

Cum in his angustiis res esset, atque omnes viæ ab Afranianis militibus equitibusque obsiderentur, nec pontes perfici possent, imperat militibus Cæsar, ut naves faciant, cujus generis eum superioribus annis usus Britannicæ docuerat.¹ Carinæ ac prima statumina² ex levi materia fiebant ; reliquum corpus navium, viminibus contextum, coriis integebatur. Has

⁶ *Quæ fere . . . consuevit* : "as the result of all these things, the dearth of provisions increased ; a circumstance ordinarily aggravated by fear for the future, as well as by the actual scarcity of the present time."

⁷ *Quibus poterat subsidiiis* : "by such aid as he could afford."

⁸ *Hæc . . . perscribebant* : "Afranius and Petreius, and their friends, reported these facts, exaggerated and overdrawn, to their party at Rome."

⁹ *Ut principes talem nuntium attulisse viderentur* : "that they might appear as the first bearers of such intelligence."

¹ *Cujus generis . . . docuerat* : "of the kind with which his experience of Britain had made him familiar." The light boats used by the Ancient Britons, and other barbarous nations, were sometimes called *naves sutiles*. Virgil, in allusion to these, calls the boat of Charon *cymba sutilis*. —(Æn. vi. 414.)

² *Statumina* : "the ribs."

perfectas carris junctis devehit noctu millia passuum a castris viginti duo, militesque his navibus flumen transportat, continentemque ripæ collem improvise occupat. Hunc celeriter, prius quam ab adversariis sentiat, communit. Huc legionem postea trajicit, atque ex utraque parte pontem institutum biduo perficit. Ita commeatus, et qui frumenti causa processerant, tuto ad se recipit, et rem frumentariam expedire³ incipit. Eodem die equitum magnam partem flumen trajecit. 55 Qui, inopinantis pabulatores et sine ullo dissipatos timore adgressi, magnum numerum jumentorum atque hominum intercipiunt; cohortibusque cetratis subsidio missis, scienter in duas partes sese distribuunt; alii ut prædæ præsidio sint; alii ut venientibus resistent, atque eos propellant: unamque cohortem, quæ temere ante ceteras extra aciem procurrerat, seclusam ab reliquis circumveniunt, atque interficiunt; incolumesque cum magna præda eodem ponte in castra revertuntur.

Dum hæc ad Ilerdam geruntur, Massilienses, usi L. Domitii 56 consilio, navis longas expediunt numero septemdecim, quarum erant undecim tectæ.⁴ Multa huc minora navigia addunt, ut ipsa multitudine nostra classis terreatur. Magnum numerum sagittariorum, magnum Albicorum, de quibus supra demonstratum est, imponunt, atque hos præmiis pollicitationibusque incitant. Certas sibi deposcit naves Domitius, atque has colonis pastoribusque, quos secum adduxerat, complet. Sic omnibus rebus instructa classe, magna fiducia ad nostras naves procedunt, quibus præerat D. Brutus. Hæ ad insulam, quæ est contra Massiliam, stationes obtinebant.⁵ 57 Erat multo inferior numero navium Brutus; sed delectos ex omnibus legionibus fortissimos viros, antesignanos, centuriones, Cæsar ei classi adtribuerat, qui sibi id muneris depoposcerant. Hi manus ferreas atque harpagones paraverant, magnoque numero pilorum, tragularum, reliquorumque telorum se instruxerant. Ita, cognito hostium adventu, suas naves ex portu educunt; cum Massiliensibus configunt. Pugnatum utrimque est fortissime atque acerrime: neque

³ *Rem frumentariam expedire*: "to put matters in working order as regarded the supply of provisions."

⁴ *Tectæ*: "with decks." Vessels with decks were the exception with the Romans, who had no great genius for naval affairs. In their naval architecture they followed the Greeks with almost servile imitation; their naval nomenclature was almost entirely Greek in its derivation, and their crews were generally composed of foreigners.

⁵ *Stationes obtinebant*: "rode at anchor."

multum Albici nostris virtute cedebant, homines asperi et montani, exercitati in armis; atque hi modo digressi a Massiliensibus recentem eorum pollicitationem animis continebant, pastoresque indomiti, spe libertatis excitati, sub oculis domini suam probare operam studebant. Ipsi Massilienses, et celeritate navium et scientia gubernatorum confisi, nostros eludebant, impetusque eorum excipiebant, et quoad licebat latiore uti spatio, producta longius acie, circumvenire nostros, aut pluribus navibus adoriri singulas, aut remos transcurrentes detergere,⁶ si possent, contendebant; cum propius erat necessario ventum, ab scientia gubernatorum atque artificijs ad virtutem montanorum confugiebant. Nostri, quod minus exercitatis remigibus minusque peritis gubernatoribus utebantur, qui repente ex onerariis navibus erant producti, neque dum etiam vocabulis armamentorum cognitis, tum etiam gravitate et tarditate navium impediabantur: factæ enim subito ex humida materia⁷ non eundem usum celeritatis habebant. Itaque, dum locus comminus pugnandi daretur, æquo animo singulas binis navibus objiciebant, atque, injecta manu ferrea et retenta utraque nave, diversi pugnabant, atque in hostium naves transcendebant, et, magno numero Albicorum et pastorum interfecto, partem navium depriment; nonnullas cum hominibus capiunt, reliquas in portum compellunt. Eo die naves Massiliensium cum iis, quæ sunt captæ, intereunt novem.

59 Hoc primum Cæsari ad Ilerdam nuntiatur; simul perfecto ponte, celeriter fortuna mutatur. Illi, perterriti virtute equitum, minus libere, minus audacter vagabantur: alias non longo ab castris progressi spatio, ut celerem receptum haberent, angustius pabulabantur; alias longiore circuitu custodias stationesque equitum vitabant, aut, aliquo accepto detrimento, aut procul equitatu viso, ex medio itinere, projectis sarcinis, fugiebant. Postremo et plures intermittere dies, et præter consuetudinem omnium noctu constituerant pabulari.

60 Interim Oscenses et Calagurritani, qui erant cum Oscensibus contributi, mittunt ad eum legatos, seseque imperata facturos pollicentur. Hos Tarraconenses et Jacetani et Ausetani et paucis post diebus Illurgavonenses, qui flumen Iberum attingunt, insequuntur. Petit ab his omnibus, ut se frumento juvent. Pollicentur, atque, omnibus undique conquisitis jumentis, in

⁶ Aut remos transcurrentes detergere: "or to break to pieces their oars as they passed by."

⁷ Ex humida materia: "from unseasoned wood."

castra deportant. Transit etiam cohors Illurgavonensis ad eum, cognito civitatis consilio,⁸ et signa ex statione transfert. Magna celeriter commutatio rerum. Perfecto ponte, magnis quinque civitatibus ad amicitiam adjunctis, expedita re frumentaria, extinctis rumoribus⁹ de auxiliis legionum, quæ cum Pompeio per Mauritaniam venire dicebantur, multæ longinquiores civitates ab Afranio desciscunt, et Cæsaris amicitiam sequuntur. Quibus rebus perterritis animis adversariorum, Cæsar, ne semper magno circuitu per pontem equitatus esset mittendus, nactus idoneum locum, fossas pedum triginta in latitudinem complures facere instituit, quibus partem aliquam Sicoris averteret, vadumque in eo flumine efficeret. His pæne effectis, magnum in timorem Afranius Petreiusque perveniunt, ne omnino frumento pabuloque intercluderentur, quod multum Cæsar equitatu valebat. Itaque constituunt ipsi iis locis excedere, et in Celtiberiam¹ bellum transferre. Huic consilio suffragabatur etiam illa res,² quod ex duobus contrariis generibus, quæ superiore bello cum Sertorio steterant civitates, victæ nomen atque imperium absentis Pompeii timebant; quæ in amicitia manserant, magnis adfectæ beneficiis eum diligebant; Cæsaris autem erat in barbaris nomen obscurius. Hinc magnos equitatus magnaque auxilia expectabant, et suis locis³ bellum in hiemem ducere cogitabant. Hoc inito consilio, toto flumine Ibero naves conquirere, et Octogesam adduci jubent. Id erat oppidum positum ad Iberum, milliaque passuum a castris aberat viginti. Ad eum locum fluminis navibus junctis pontem imperant fieri, legionesque duas flumen Sicorim traducunt, castraque muniunt vallo pedum duodecim.

Qua re per exploratores cognita, summo labore militum Cæsar, continuato diem noctemque opere in flumine aver-

⁸ *Cognito civitatis consilio*: "as soon as the policy of their state was known."

⁹ *Extinctis rumoribus*. (See cap. xxxix.) There was also another rumour very prevalent in Italy: "Etiam illud erat persuasum, Pompeium cum magnis copiis iter in Germaniam per Illyricum fecisse; id enim abderikus nuntiabatur."—(Cic. ad Att. x. 9.)

¹ *Celtiberiam*. The Celtiberi were a colony of Celts, who had crossed the Pyrenees into Spain, and gradually mingled with the natives of the country. They were famous for their stubborn resistance to the Romans, and it was not until after the death of Sertorius that they finally submitted to the Roman yoke.

² *Huic consilio suffragabatur etiam illa res*: "this circumstance, moreover, confirmed them in this decision."

³ *Suis locis*: "in a territory friendly to them."

- tendo, huc jam reduxerat rem, ut equites, etsi difficulter atque ægre fiebat, possent tamen atque auderent flumen transire; pedites vero tantummodo humeris ac summo pectore exstarent; et cum altitudine aquæ, tum etiam rapiditate fluminis, ad transeundum impedirentur. Sed tamen eodem fere tempore pons in Ibero prope effectus nuntjatur, et in Sicori vadum reperiebatur. Jam vero eo magis illi maturandum iter existimabant. Itaque duabus auxiliari-
 63 batur, et in Sicori vadum reperiebatur. Jam vero eo magis illi maturandum iter existimabant. Itaque duabus auxiliari-
 bus cohortibus Ilerdæ præsidio relictis, omnibus copiis Sicorim transeunt, et cum duabus legionibus, quas superioribus diebus traduxerant, castra conjungunt. Relinquebatur Cæsari nihil, nisi uti equitatu agmen adversariorum male haberet et carperet.⁴ Pons enim ipsius magnum circuitum habebat, ut multo brevior itinere illi ad Iberum pervenire possent. Equites ab eo missi flumen transeunt, et, cum de tertia vigilia Petreius atque Afranius castra movissent, repente sese ad novissimum agmen ostendunt, et, magna multitudine circumfusa, morari atque iter impedire incipiunt.
- 64 Prima luce ex superioribus locis, quæ Cæsaris castris erant conjuncta, cernebatur equitatus nostri prælio novissimos illorum premi vehementer, ac nonnunquam sustinere extremum agmen,⁵ atque interrumpi; alias inferri signa, et universarum cohortium impetu nostros propelli, dein rursus conversos insequi: totis vero castris milites circulari,⁶ et dolere hostem ex manibus dimitti, bellum necessario longius duci: centuriones tribunosque militum adire, atque obsecrare, ut per eos Cæsar certior fieret, ne labori suo neu periculo parceret; Paratos esse sese, posse et audere ea transire flumen, qua traductus esset equitatus. Quorum studio et vocibus excitatus Cæsar, etsi timebat tantæ magnitudinis flumini exercitum objicere, conandum tamen atque experiendum judicat. Itaque infirmiores milites ex omnibus centuriis deligi jubet, quorum aut animus aut vires videbantur sustinere non posse: hos cum legione una præsidio castris relinquit. Reliquas legiones expeditas educit; magnoque numero jumentorum in flumine supra atque infra constituto, traducit exercitum. Pauci ex his militibus vi fluminis abrepti ab equitatu excipiuntur ac sublevantur; interiit tamen nemo. Traducto incolumi exercitu, copias instruit, triplicemque aciem

⁴ *Male haberet et carperet*: "to harass and cut down."

⁵ *Ac nonnunquam sustinere extremum agmen*: "and that the last line sometimes halted."

⁶ *Milites circulari*: "the soldiers congregated together."

ducere incipit. Ac tantum fuit in militibus studii, ut, mil-
 lium sex ad iter addito circuitu,⁷ magnaue ad vadum fluminis
 mora interposita, eos, qui de tertia vigilia exissent, ante horam
 diei nonam consequerentur. Quos ubi Afranius procul visos 65
 cum Petreio conspexit, nova re perterritus, locis superioribus
 constitit, aciemque instruit. Cæsar in campis exercitum
 reficit, ne defessum prælio objiciat. Rursus conantes⁸ pro-
 gredi insequitur et moratur.⁹ Illi necessario maturius, quam
 constituerant, castra ponunt. Suberant enim montes¹ atque
 a millibus passuum quinque itinera difficilia atque angusta
 excipiebant. Hos intra montes se recipiebant,² ut equitatum
 effugerent Cæsaris, præsidiisque in angustiis collocatis, exer-
 citum itinere prohiberent; ipsi sine periculo ac timore Iberum
 copias traducerent. Quod fuit illis conandum, atque omni
 ratione efficiendum;³ sed totius diei pugna atque itineris
 labore defessi rem in posterum diem distulerunt. Cæsar quo-
 que in proximo colle castra ponit. Media circiter nocte iis, 66
 qui adaquandi causa longius a castris processerant, ab equiti-
 bus correptis, fit ab his certior Cæsar, duces adversariorum
 silentio copias castris educere. Quo cognito, signum dari
 jubet, et vasa militari more conclamari.⁴ Illi, exaudito
 clamore, veriti, ne noctu impediti sub onere configere coge-
 rentur, aut ne ab equitatu Cæsaris in angustiis tenerentur,
 iter supprimunt, copiasque in castris continent. Postero die
 Petreius cum paucis equitibus occulte ad exploranda loca
 proficiscitur. Hoc idem fit ex castris Cæsaris. Mittitur L.
 Decidius Saxa⁵ cum paucis, qui loci naturam perspiciat.

⁷ *Millium . . . circuitu*: "that notwithstanding a circuit of six miles being added to their journey."

⁸ *Conantes*: that is, Afranius and Petreius.

⁹ *Moratur*: "compels them to halt."

¹ *Suberant enim montes, &c.* This passage must not be misunderstood. Afranius and Petreius encamped sooner than they intended, *not because* there were mountains a little further on, but because Cæsar prevented their continuing their march (*moratur*). They stopped sooner than they had intended, for (*enim*) they were wishing to reach the mountains and the broken roads (*itinera difficilia*), where Cæsar's cavalry would be unable to operate. The passage has been strangely mistranslated, or this explanation would hardly have been necessary.

² *Recipiebant*: "they were betaking themselves."

³ *Omniratione efficiendum*: "to be effected by all the means in their power."

⁴ *Vasa conclamari*: "that the baggage should be cried;" *i.e.*, that the military signal should be given for packing the baggage. This was always done, by trumpet, from the general's tent; and, when his tent had been struck, the soldiers struck theirs.

⁵ *Decidius Saxa*. Probably an able man, for Cæsar afterwards raised

- Uterque idem suis renuntiat : quinque millia passuum proxima intercedere itineris campestris ;⁶ inde excipere loca aspera et montuosa ; qui prior has angustias occupaverit, ab hoc hostem
- 67 prohiberi nihil esse negotii. Disputatur in consilio ab Petreio atque Afranio, et tempus profectionis quaeritur. Plerique censebant ut noctu iter facerent : posse prius ad angustias veniri, quam sentiretur. Alii, quod pridie noctu conclamatum esset in Cæsaris castris, argumenti sumebant loco⁷ non posse clam exiri : circumfundi⁸ noctu equitatum Cæsaris, atque omnia loca atque itinera obsideri ; nocturnaue prœlia esse vitanda, quod perterritus miles in civili dissensione timori magis, quam religioni, consulere consueverit :⁹ at lucem multum per se pudorem omnium oculis, multum etiam tribunorum militum et centurionum præsentiæ adferre ; quibus rebus coerceri milites, et in officio contineri soleant ; quare omni ratione esse interdiu perrumpendum : etsi aliquo accepto detrimento, tamen, summa exercitus salva, locum, quem petant, capi posse. Hæc evicit in consilio sententia, et prima luce postridie constituunt proficisci.
- 68 Cæsar, exploratis regionibus, albente cœlo, omnes copias castris educit ; magnoque circuitu nullo certo itinere exercitum ducit. Nam quæ itinera ad Iberum atque Octogesam pertinebant, castris hostium oppositis tenebantur. Ipsi erant transcendendæ valles maximæ ac difficillimæ ; saxa multis locis prærupta iter impediabant, ut arma per manus necessario traderentur, militesque inermi sublevatique alii ab aliis¹⁰ magnam partem itineris conficerent. Sed hunc laborem recusabat nemo, quod eum omnium laborum finem fore existimabant, si hostem Iber intercludere, et frumento prohibere potuissent. Ac primo Afraniani milites visendi causa læti ex castris procurrebant, contumeliosisque vocibus prose-

him to be tribune of the people, a step at which Cicero was much scandalised. "Saxam vero Decidium præterire qui possum, hominem deductum ex ultimis gentibus, ut eum tribunum plebis videremus, quem civem nunquam videramus."—Philippic xiii. 13.

⁶ *Quinque . . . campestris* : "that there were five miles intervening of level road."

⁷ *Argumenti sumebant loco* : "adopted it as an argument."

⁸ *Circumfundi* : "were out in every direction."

⁹ *Timori . . . consueverit* : "was accustomed to consult his fears more than his religion ;" that is, than his religious obligations, entailed upon him by the military oath.

¹⁰ *Sublevati alii ab aliis* : "assisted up by each other." The phrase expresses the mode ; the soldiers clambered up from the backs of their comrades, whom they, in turn, helped up the rocks.

quebantur; nec non, necessarii victus inopia coactos¹ fugere, atque ad Ilerdam reverti.¹ Erat enim iter a proposito diversum, contrariamque in partem iri videbatur. Duces vero eorum suum consilium laudibus ferebant, quod se castris tenuissent; multumque eorum opinionem adjuvabat, quod sine jumentis impedimentisque ad iter profectos videbant, ut non posse inopiam diutius sustinere confiderent. Sed ubi paulatim retorqueri agmen ad dextram conspexerunt, jamque primos superare regionem castrorum animum adverterunt,² nemo erat adeo tardus aut fugiens laboris, quin statim castris exeundum atque occurrendum putaret. Conclamatur ad arma, atque omnes copiae, paucis praesidio relictis cohortibus, exeunt, rectoque ad Iberum itinere contendunt. Erat in 70 celeritate omne positum certamen, utri prius angustias montesque occuparent: sed exercitum Caesaris viarum difficultates tardabant, Afranii copias equitatus Caesaris insequens morabatur. Res tamen ab Afranianis huc erat necessario deducta, ut si priores montes, quos petebant, attigissent, ipsi periculum vitarent, impedimenta totius exercitus cohortesque in castris relictas servare non possent; quibus, interclusis exercitu Caesaris, auxilium ferri nulla ratione poterat. Confecit prior iter Caesar, atque, ex magnis rupibus nactus planitiem,³ in hac contra hostem aciem instruit. Afranius, cum ab equitatu novissimum agmen premeretur, et ante se hostem videret, collem quendam nactus, ibi constitit. Ex eo loco quattuor cetratorum cohortis in montem, qui erat in conspectu omnium excelsissimus, mittit. Hunc magno cursu concitatos jubet occupare, eo consilio, uti ipse eodem omnibus copiis contenderet, et, mutato itinere, jugis Octogesam perveniret. Hunc cum obliquo itinere cetrati peterent, conspicatus equitatus Caesaris in cohortis impetum facit; nec minimam partem temporis equitum vim cetrati sustinere potuerunt, omnesque ab eis circumventi in conspectu utriusque exercitus interficiuntur.

Erat occasio bene gerendae rei. Neque vero id Caesarem 71 fugiebat,⁴ tanto sub oculis accepto detrimento, perterritum

¹ *Nec non . . . reverti*: "among other things, reproaching them that they were compelled to flee through want of the means of subsistence, and to return to Ilerda."

² *Jamque . . . adverterunt*: "and perceived that (the enemy's) van had already passed the line of their camp."

³ *Ex magnis rupibus nactus planitiem*: "having gained a level space over some rocks."

⁴ *Neque . . . fugiebat*: "nor indeed did it escape Caesar's notice."

exercitum sustinere non posse, præsertim circumdatum undique equitatu, cum in loco æquo atque aperto configeretur; idque ex omnibus partibus ab eo flagitabatur.⁵ Concurrerant legati, centuriones, tribuniq; militum: Ne dubitaret prælium committere: omnium esse militum paratissimos animos: Afranianos contra multis rebus sui timoris signa misisse; quod suis non subvenissent, quod de colle non decederent, quod vix equitum incursus sustinerent, conlatisque in unum locum signis, conferti neque ordines neque signa servarent.⁶ Quod si iniquitatem loci timeret, datum iri tamen aliquo loco pugnandi facultatem, quod certe inde decedendum esset Afranio, nec sine

- 72 aqua permanere posset. Cæsar in eam spem venerat, se sine pugna et sine vulnere suorum rem conficere posse, quod re frumentaria adversarios interclusisset. Cur etiam secundo prælio aliquos ex suis amitteret? Cur vulnerari pateretur optime de se meritos milites? Cur denique fortunam periclitaretur, præsertim cum non minus esset imperatoris consilio superare, quam gladio? Movebatur etiam misericordia civium, quos interficiendos videbat; quibus salvis atque incolumibus rem obtinere malebat. Hoc consilium Cæsaris plerisque non probabatur; milites vero palam inter se loquebantur, quoniam talis occasio victoriæ dimitteretur, etiam cum vellet Cæsar, sese non esse pugnatuos. Ille in sua sententia perseverat et paulum ex eo loco digreditur, ut timorem adversariis minuat. Petreius atque Afranius, oblata facultate,⁷ in castra sese referunt. Cæsar, præsidii in montibus dispositis, omni ad Iberum intercluso itinere, quam
- 73 proxime potest hostium castris, castra communit. Postero die duces adversariorum perturbati, quod omnem rei frumentariæ fluminisque Iberi spem dimiserant, de reliquis rebus consultabant.⁸ Erat unum iter, Ilerdam si reverti vellent; alterum, si Tarraconem peterent. Hæc consiliantibus eis nuntiatur aquatores ab equitatu premi nostro. Qua re cognita, crebras stationes disponunt equitum et cohortium alariarum.⁹ legionariasque interjiciunt cohortis, vallumque ex castris ad aquam ducere incipiunt, ut intra munitionem

⁵ *Idque . . . flagitabatur*: "and this was strongly urged upon him from all sides."

⁶ *Neque ordines neque signa servarent*: "that they neither kept rank or in military order."

⁷ *Oblata facultate*: "an opportunity being afforded."

⁸ *Consultabant*: "were consulting."

⁹ *Cohortium alariarum*: "of cohorts taken from the *alarii*." The *alarii*, so called from the Latin word *ala*, formed the wings of the army,

et sine timore et sine stationibus aquari possent. Id opus inter se Petreius atque Afranius partiuntur, ipsique perficiendi operis causa longius progrediuntur.

Quorum discessu liberam nacti milites colloquiorum facultatem vulgo procedunt,¹ et, quem quisque in castris² notum aut municipem habebat, conquirat atque evocat. Primum agunt gratias omnes omnibus, quod sibi perterritis pridie pepercissent: eorum se beneficio vivere. Deinde imperatoris fidem quærunt,³ rectene se illi sint commissuri, et, quod non ab initio fecerint, armaque cum hominibus necessariis et consanguineis contulerint, queruntur. His provocati sermonibus fidem ab imperatore de Petreii atque Afranii vita petunt, ne quod in se scelus concepisse, neu suos prodidisse videantur. Quibus confirmatis rebus, se statim signa translaturus confirmant, legatosque de pace primorum ordinum centuriones ad Cæsarem mittunt. Iterim alii suos in castra invitandi causa adducunt, alii ab suis abducuntur, adeo ut una castra jam facta ex binis viderentur; compluresque tribuni militum et centuriones ad Cæsarem veniunt, seque ei commendant. Idem hoc fit a principibus Hispaniæ, quos illi evocaverant, et secum in castris habebant obsidum loco. Hi suos notos hospitesque quærebant, per quem quisque eorum additum commendationis haberet ad Cæsarem. Afranii etiam filius adulescens de sua ac parentis sui salute cum Cæsare per Sulpicium legatum agebat. Erant plena lætitia et gratulatione omnia eorum, qui tanta pericula vitasse, et eorum, qui sine vulnere tantas res confecisse videbantur, magnumque fructum suæ pristinæ lenitatis omnium iudicio Cæsar ferebat, consiliumque ejus a cunctis probabatur.

Quibus rebus nuntiatis Afranio, ab instituto opere discedit, 75 seque in castra recipit, sic paratus, ut videbatur, ut quicunque accidisset casus, hunc quieto et æquo animo ferret. Petreius vero non deserit sese:⁴ armat familiam; cum hac et prætoriam cohortem cetratorum barbarisque equitibus paucis, beneficiariis⁵ suis, quos suæ custodiæ causa habere consue-

and were usually composed of the Roman cavalry and that of the allies; they are generally enumerated in distinction from the *legionarii*.

¹ *Vulgo procedunt*: "come forth very generally."

² *In castris*: i.e., in Cæsar's camp.

³ *Fidem quærunt*: "make inquiries respecting the good faith."

⁴ *Non deserit sese*: "does not forsake his rôle."

⁵ *Beneficarii*. The *beneficarii* were soldiers who, through favour on the part of their commanders, were exempted from the more menial services of the camp, such as foraging, procuring wood and water, &c; they were usually in immediate attendance upon their commander.

improviso ad vallum advolat : colloquia militum interruptit ; nostros repellit a castris ; quos deprendit, interficit. Reliqui coeunt iter se, et repentino periculo exterriti sinistras sagis involvunt, gladiosque destringunt, atque ita se a cetratis equitibusque defendunt, castrorum propinquitate confisi, seque in castra recipiunt, et ab iis cohortibus, quæ erant in statione ad portas, defenduntur.

- 76 Quibus rebus confectis, flens Petreius manipulos circumit militesque appellat, neu se, neu Pompeium, imperatorem suum, adversariis ad supplicium tradant, obsecrat. Fit celeriter concursus in prætorium. Postulat, ut jurent omnes se exercitum ducesque non deserturos, neque prodituros, neque sibi separatim a reliquis consilium capturos. Princeps in hæc verba⁶ jurat ipse ; idem jusjurandum adigit Afranium : subsequuntur tribuni militum centurionesque. Centuriatim producti milites idem jurant. Edicunt, penes quem quisque sit Cæsaris miles,⁷ ut producat : productos palam in prætorio interficiunt. Sed plerosque hi, qui receperant, celant, nocturneque per vallum emittunt. Sic terror oblatus a ducibus, crudelitas in supplicio, nova religio jurisjurandi spem præsentis deditionis sustulit, mentesque militum convertit, et rem ad pristinam belli rationem redegit.

- 77 Cæsar, qui milites adversariorum in castra per tempus colloqui venerant, summa diligentia conquiri et remitti jubet. Sed ex numero tribunorum militum centurionumque nonnulli sua voluntate apud eum remanserunt. Quos ille postea magno in honore habuit ; centuriones in ampliores ordines, equites Romanos in tribunicium restituit honorem.

- 78 Premebantur Afraniani pabulatione ; aquabantur ægre. Frumenti copiam legionarii nonnullam habebant, quod dierum viginti duorum ab Ilerda frumentum jussi erant efferre ; cetrati auxiliaresque nullam, quorum erant et facultates ad parandum exiguæ, et corpora insueta ad onera portanda. Itaque magnus eorum quotidie numerus ad Cæsarem per-fugiebat. In his erat angustius res : sed ex propositis consiliis duobus explicitius⁸ videbatur Ilerdam reverti, quod ibi paulum frumenti reliquerant. Ibi se reliquum consilium explicaturos confidebant. Tarraco aberat longius ; quo spatio

⁶ *In hæc verba jurat.* The military oath sometimes varied ; after a mutiny it was always administered anew.

⁷ *Penes . . . miles :* "that with whomsoever a soldier of Cæsar's be sheltered."

⁸ *Explicitius :* "the more free from difficulty ;" a very rare use of the word.

plures rem posse casus recipere intellegebant. Hoc probato consilio, ex castris profisciscuntur. Cæsar, equitatu præmisso, qui novissimum agmen carperet atque impediret, ipse cum legionibus subsequitur. Nullum intercedebat tempus, quin extremi cum equitibus præliarentur. Genus erat hoc pugnae. **79** Expeditæ cohortes novissimum agmen claudebant, pluriesque in locis campestribus subsistebant. Si mons erat ascendendus, facile ipsa loci natura periculum repellebat, quod ex locis superioribus, qui antecesserant, desuper suos ascendentes protegebant :⁹ cum vallis aut locus declivis suberat, neque ii, qui antecesserant, morantibus opem ferre poterant, equites¹ vero ex loco superiore in aversos tela conjiciebant ; tum magno erat in periculo res. Relinquebatur, ut, cum ejusmodi locis esset appropinquatum, legionum signa consistere juberent, magnoque impetu equitatum repellerent ; eo summoto,² repente incitati cursu sese in vallis universi demitterent, atque ita transgressi rursus in locis superioribus consisterent. Nam tantum ab equitum suorum auxilii aberant,³ quorum numerum habebant magnum, ut eos, superioribus perterritos præliis, in medium reciperent agmen, ultroque eos tuerentur ; quorum nulli ex itinere excedere licebat, quin ab equitatu Cæsaris exciperetur. Tali dum pugnatur modo, lente atque paulatim **80** proceditur,⁴ crebroque, ut sint auxilio suis, subsistunt : ut tum accidit. Millia enim progressi quattuor, vehementiusque peragitati ab equitatu, montem excelsum capiunt : ibique una fronte contra hostem castra muniunt, neque jumentis onera deponunt. Ubi Cæsar castra posita tabernaculaque constituta et dimissos equites pabulandi causa animum adverterunt, sese subito proripiunt hora circiter sexta ejusdem diei, et spem nacti moræ⁵ discessu nostrorum equitum iter facere incipiunt. Qua re animadversa, Cæsar relictis legionibus subsequitur ; præsidio impedimentis paucas cohortis relinquit ; hora decima subsequi pabulatores, equitesque revocari jubet. Celeriter equitatus ad quotidianum itineris officium⁶ rever-

⁹ *Protegebant* : namely, by the discharge of missile weapons.

¹ *Equites* : i.e., Cæsar's cavalry.

² *Eo summoto* : "and the cavalry being driven back."

³ *Nam tantum . . . aberant* : "for so far were the cavalry from affording them aid."

⁴ *Lente atque paulatim proceditur* : "they advance slowly and by degrees."

⁵ *Spem nacti moræ* : "having hopes of delay."

⁶ *Ad quotidianum itineris officium*. There appears to be a little sarcasm in this expression ; Cæsar had evidently felt sure of his game from the time he intercepted the enemy's retreat.

- titur. Pugnatur acriter ad novissimum agmen, adeo ut pæne terga convertant, compluresque milites, etiam nonnulli centuriones, interficiuntur. Instabat agmen Cæsar, atque
- 81 {universum imminebat. Tum vero, neque ad explorandum idoneum locum castris neque ad progrediendum data facultate, consistunt necessario, et procul ab aqua et natura iniquo loco castra ponunt. Sed iisdem de causis Cæsar, quæ supra sunt demonstratæ, prælio amplius non lacessit, et eo die tabernacula statui passus non est, quo paratiores essent ad insequendum omnes, sive noctu sive interdiu erumperent. Illi enim, adverso vitio castrorum,⁷ tota nocte munitiones proferunt, castraque castris convertunt. Hoc idem postero die a prima luce faciunt, totumque in ea re diem consumunt. Sed quantum opere processerant et castra protulerant, tanto aberant ab aqua longius, et præsentī malo⁸ aliis malis remedia dabantur. Prima nocte aquandi causa nemo egreditur ex castris; proximo die, præsidio in castris relicto, universas ad aquam copias educunt; pabulatum emittitur nemo. His eos supplices malis habere Cæsar, et necessariam subire deditionem, quam prælio decertare, malebat. Conatur tamen eos vallo fossaque circumvenire, ut quam maxime repentinas eorum eruptiones demoretur; quo necessario decensuros existimabat.⁹ Illi et inopia pabuli adducti, et, quo essent ad id expeditiores, omnia sarcinaria jumenta interfici jubent.
- 82 In his operibus consiliisque biduum consumitur; tertio die magna jam pars operis Cæsaris processerat. Illi impediendæ rei causa, hora circiter nona signo dato, legiones educunt, aciemque sub castris instruunt. Cæsar ab opere legiones revocat, equitatum omnem convenire jubet, aciem instruit: contra opinionem enim militum famamque omnium videri proelium defugisse magnum detrimentum adferebat. Sed eisdem de causis, quæ sunt cognitæ, quo minus dimicare vellet, movebatur; atque hoc etiam magis, quod spatii brevitas,¹ etiam in fugam conjectis adversariis, non multum ad summam victoriæ juvare poterat. Non enim amplius pedum millibus duobus ab castris castra distabant. Hinc duas partes acies occupabant; tertia vacabat ad incursum atque

⁷ *Adverso vitio castrorum*: "perceiving the defect in their camp."

⁸ *Et præsentī malo* . . . *dabantur*: "and the present evil was remedied by other ills."

⁹ *Ut quam* . . . *existimabat*: "that he might check as much as possible any sudden sallies on their part, to which he thought they must of necessity have recourse."

¹ *Spatii brevitas*: "the short interval;" that is, between the two camps.

impetum militum relictā. Si prœlium committeretur, propinquitās castrorum celerem superatis ex fuga receptum dabat. Hac de causa constituerat signa inferentibus resistere, prior prœlio non lacessere.

Acies erat Afraniā duplex legionum quinque ; tertium in 83
subsidiis locum alariæ cohortes obtinebant.² Cæsaris triplex ; sed primam aciem quaternæ cohortes ex quinque legionibus tenebant ; has subsidiariæ ternæ et rursus aliæ totidem suæ cujusque legionis subsequebantur ;³ sagittarii funditoresque media continebantur acie, equitatus latera cingebat. Tali instructa acie, tenere uterque propositum videbatur : Cæsar, nisi coactus, prœlium non committere ; ille, ut opera Cæsaris impediret. Producitur tamen res, aciesque ad solis occasum continentur : inde utrique in castra discedunt. Postero die munitiones institutas Cæsar parat perficere ; illi vadum fluminis Sicoris tentare, si transire possent. Qua re animadversa, Cæsar Germanos levis armaturæ equitumque partem flumen trajicit, crebrasque in ripis custodias disponit.

Tandem omnibus rebus obsessi, quartum jam diem sine 84
pabulo retentis jumentis, aquæ, lignorum, frumenti inopia, colloquium petunt, et id, si fieri possit, semoto a militibus loco. Ubi id a Cæsare negatum, et, palam si colloqui vellent, concessum est, datur obsidis loco Cæsari filius Afranii. Venitur in eum locum, quem Cæsar delegit. Audiente utroque exercitu, loquitur Afranius : Non esse aut ipsis aut militibus succensendum, quod fidem erga imperatorem suum Cn. Pompeium conservare voluerunt. Sed satis jam fecisse officio, satisque supplicii tulisse, perpressos omnium rerum inopiam ; nunc vero, pæne ut feras,⁴ circummunitos prohiberi aqua, prohiberi ingressu ; neque corpore dolorem, neque animo ignominiam ferre posse. Itaque se victos confiteri : orare atque obsecrare, si qui locus misericordiæ relinquatur, ne ad ultimum supplicium progredi necesse habeant. Hæc quam potest demississime et subjectissime exponit. Ad ea Cæsar 85
respondit : Nulli omnium has partis vel querimonie vel miserationis minus convenisse.⁵ Reliquos enim omnis suum

² *Tertium . . . obtinebant* : "the cohorts of the alarii formed the third line, (acting) as reserves."

³ *Has subsidiariæ . . . subsequebantur* : "three more out of each legion followed them, as reserves ; and the same number succeeded these."

⁴ *Pene ut feras* : "almost after the manner of wild beasts."

⁵ *Has . . . convenisse*. To translate this passage properly we must give to *partes* two separate renderings. "That to no one did complaining, or any claim on the compassion of others, less properly belong."

officium præstitisse : se, qui etiam bona conditione et loco et tempore æquo configere noluerit, ut quam integerrima essent ad pacem omnia ; exercitum suum, qui, injuria etiam accepta suisque interfectis, quos in sua potestate habuerit, conservavit et texerit ; illius denique exercitus milites, qui per se de concilianda pace egerint ; qua in re omnium suorum vitæ consulendum putarint. Sic omnium ordinum partis in misericordia constituisse : ipsos duces a pace abhorruisse ; eos neque colloqui neque induciarum jura servasse, et homines imperitos⁶ et per colloquium deceptos crudelissime interfecisse. Accidisse igitur his, quod plerumque hominum nimia pertinacia atque arrogantia accidere soleat, uti eo recurrant, et id cupidissime petant, quod paulo ante contempserint. Neque nunc se illorum humilitate, neque aliqua temporis opportunitate⁷ postulare, quibus rebus opes augeantur suæ ; sed eos exercitus, quos contra se multos jam annos aluerint, velle dimitti. Neque enim sex legiones alia de causa missas in Hispaniam, septimamque ibi conscriptam, neque tot tantasque classis paratas, neque submissos duces rei militaris peritos. Nihil horum ad pacandas Hispanias, nihil ad usum provinciæ provisum, quæ propter diuturnitatem pacis nullum auxilium desiderarit. Omnia hæc jam pridem contra se parari : in se novi generis imperia constitui, ut idem ad portas urbanis præsideat rebus, et duas bellicosissimas provincias⁸ absens tot annos obtineat ; in se jura magistratuum commutari, ne ex prætura et consulatu, ut semper, sed per paucos probati et electi in provincias mittantur ;⁹ in se ætatis excusationem nihil valere, quod superioribus bellis probati ad obtinendos exercitus evocentur ; in se uno non servari, quod sit omnibus datum semper imperatoribus, ut, rebus feliciter gestis, aut cum honore aliquo aut certe sine ignominia domum revertantur, exercitumque dimittant. Quæ tamen omnia et se tulisse patienter et esse laturum : neque nunc id agere, ut ab illis abductum exercitum teneat ipse, quod tamen sibi difficile non sit, sed ne illi habeant, quo contra se uti possint.

⁶ *Impeditos* (Lipsius).

⁷ *Aliqua temporis opportunitate* : "on account of any opportunity afforded by the present juncture."

⁸ *Duas bellicosissimas provincias*. The two Spains.

⁹ *In se . . . mittantur* : "to injure him, the rights of the magistrates had been set aside, nor were they sent at the expiration of prætorship or consulship to their provinces, as had always been the custom, but (men) in favour with, and elected by, a clique."

Proinde, ut esset dictum, provinciis excederent, exercitumque dimitterent; si id sit factum, se nociturum nemini. Hanc unam atque extremam esse pacis conditionem.

Id vero militibus fuit pergratum et jucundum, ut ex ipsa 86 significatione cognosci potuit, ut, qui aliquid victi incommodi expectavissent, ultro præmium missionis ferrent.¹ Nam cum de loco et tempore ejus rei controversia inferretur, et voce et manibus universi ex vallo, ubi constiterant, significare cœperunt, ut statim dimitterentur, neque omni interposita fide firmum esse posse, si in aliud tempus differretur. Paucis cum esset in utramque partem verbis disputatum, res huc deduciter, ut ii, qui habeant domicilium aut possessiones in Hispania, statim, reliqui ad Varum flumen² dimittantur; ne quid eis noceatur, neu quis invitus sacramentum dicere cogatur a Cæsare, cavetur.³ Cæsar ex eo tempore, dum ad 87 flumen Varum veniatur, se frumentum daturum pollicetur. Addit etiam, ut, quid quisque eorum in bello amiserit, quæ sint penes milites suos, iis, qui amiserant, restituatur; militibus, æqua facta æstimatione, pecuniam pro his rebus dissolvit. Quasunque postea controversias inter se milites habuerunt, sua sponte ad Cæsarem in jus adierunt. Petreius atque Afranius, cum stipendium ab legionibus, pæne seditione facta, flagitaretur, cujus illi diem nondum venisse dicerent, Cæsar ut cognosceret, postulant; eoque utrique, quod statuit, contenti fuerunt. Parte circiter tertia exercitus eo biduo dimissa, duas legiones suas antecedere, reliquas subsequi jussit, ut non longo inter se spatio castra facerent; eique negotio Q. Fufium Calenum⁴ legatum præficit. Hoc ejus præscripto ex Hispania ad Varum flumen est iter factum, atque ibi reliqua pars exercitus dimissa est.

¹ *Ut, qui . . . ferrent*: "As men, who, being conquered had expected some grievous ill, should obtain unsought the boon of dismissal."

² *Ad Varum flumen*: "at the river Var."

³ *Cavetur*: "it is provided."

⁴ *Q. Fufum Calenum*. One of Cæsar's generals, to whom was subsequently confided the task of transporting the troops from Brundisium into Greece. He also subsequently reduced Achaia.

NOTE.

The final impression left upon the mind, by the perusal of this book, must be one very favourable to Cæsar's character for humanity and clemency. Allowing that he is his own historian and states his own motives, it is still evident that his campaign, both in Italy and Spain, was one of marked moderation. Either his conduct in Gaul, or the malice of his enemies, had produced a very different conception of his character, for we find that his clemency appears to have invariably taken his foes by surprise. As it is, his conduct, throughout the Civil War, stands in marked contrast to his merciless energy in Gaul. Never was the sword used more cruelly and unsparingly than by Cæsar in his Gallic campaigns ; seldom has a struggle, embittered by party feelings of the intensest kind, been terminated so magnanimously by the victor as was the Civil War. Cæsar's detractors say that this was mere policy ; his panegyrists say that it was sheer nobleness of heart. Both are probably partly right and partly wrong, but in what proportion we cannot now pretend to decide.

EXAMINATION QUESTIONS.

1. DESCRIBE the relative position of parties prior to the outbreak of the Civil War. What were the causes, and what the occasion, of this war?

2. State whether you consider Pompey's retreat to Greece a judicious course, and the reasons for and against the step which probably weighed with him at the time.

3. Explain briefly the peculiar functions of the following officers of the Roman State :—*consul*, *prætor*, *ædile*, *censor*, and *tribune*.

4. Distinguish the meanings of *mens*, *animus*, *anima*, and *spiritus* ; and quote a passage where the difference between the first two words is implied.

5. State what you know respecting the following individuals :—Juba, L. Piso, Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius Scipio, Curio, Cato Uticensis.

6. How was Spain anciently divided? Enumerate the chief towns in each division.

7. What were the weapons and accoutrements of the *cetratæ* and *scutatæ*, respectively ; and what divisions existed in a Roman legion?

8. What part did Cicero take in the Civil War ; and to which of his writings are we indebted for information respecting it?

9. What peculiar responsibility did Cæsar incur in conducting a war against his own country ; and on what pretext did he most rely in undertaking it?

